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The Catholic Historical Review

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JAMES J. WALSH — MEDICAL HISTORIAN AND PATHFINDER

By

Harry W. Kirwin*

"Ever see the busiest man in New York?" queried the New York *Telegram* of August 5, 1911. The editor's nominee for the title was a certain Catholic gentleman, James J. Walsh, medical doctor and doctor of philosophy, who, he alleged, could perform tasks that would give ten able men brain fag. Visiting physician at three hospitals, lecturer at four colleges regularly, writer of articles for the *Century* and *Scribner's* and other leading magazines, James Walsh not only held the post of acting dean and professor of neurology at the School of Medicine of Fordham University but he had only recently published a thought provoking work about the thirteenth being the greatest of centuries. Considering the fact that the average Irish-American of that time was lucky to get himself a grammar school education, much less to wear a number of learned degrees after his name, it is easy to see why the editor of the *Telegram* should wonder at the achievements of such a man. For this was a time when the terms "Catholic" and "foreigner" were virtually synonymous in the public mind and few thought the Catholic Church in the United States either likely or

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 This paper was originally delivered as the presidential address at the fortieth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1959.

capable of nurturing scholarship in its precincts. What set Walsh apart from his co-religionists was not that he was the only one of his Catholic contemporaries to fit in this category. He differed from most of them, however, in that he was not afraid to meet the purveyors of modern progress four square on the lecture platform, in the press, and from the pages of the learned and popular journals of the day.

James J. Walsh was born at Archbald, Pennsylvania, on April 12, 1865, the son of Martin J. and Bridget Golden Walsh.[1] He attended parochial school in Wilkes-Barre, thereafter going to Fordham to complete his high school and collegiate education whence he graduated at the head of his class with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1884. He stayed on at Rose Hill another year to obtain his master's degree, then entered the Society of Jesus where he spent the next six years of his life before returning to secular life. The following year, 1893, he joined his younger brother Joseph at the University of Pennsylvania, began the study of medicine, completed it in two years' time, and obtained his license to practice in 1895.

Most capable young men on arriving at this stage of their lives would have been content to settle for a successful career in the profession of their choice. The truth of the matter was that Walsh never lost his vocation; it simply reappeared under a new garb. He had been deeply disappointed to be sent home by his Jesuit superiors only to find himself scorned as a "spoiled priest."[2] To take his mind off his troubles, his friends suggested that he give a series of lectures to the

[1] There is no full length biography of Walsh, although Sister Mary Marcella Smith, R.S.M., has written an unpublished doctoral dissertation, "James J. Walsh, American Revivalist of the Middle Ages," which was submitted at St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York, in 1944. Walsh himself prepared a memoir of his life, but died before it could be readied for publication. It will be hereinafter cited as "Memoir." The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. Julia F. Walsh for making available her husband's "Memoir" and much of his private correspondence.

[2] His mother was doubly annoyed because she had ambitions for him to be a bishop and was distressed that he had not entered the secular priesthood. (Mrs. Julia F. Walsh to the writer, September 3, 1959.) Indeed, the senior Mrs. Walsh was so perturbed at her son's return from the Jesuits that she actually left Parsons, Pennsylvania, where she had lived for many years and had developed a thriving business and sought to begin life anew on the Pacific Coast. Since the financial arrangements, however, for the sale of her business did not measure up to expectations, she decided to come back to Parsons where she remained until she died some few years later. *Op cit.*, pp. 15-16.

townspeople on some of the wonders of natural science. He made an instant success of it.[3] After a time it dawned on him that if he could not be a priest and serve as curator of people's souls, he would do well to become a doctor and care for their bodies. Nor was it mere chance that as a medical student he should apply himself to the study of neurology and later on become particularly expert in the related field of psychotherapy.

Above all, James Walsh was determined to get the best medical education that could be had for the time. He was disappointed to have missed Dr. William Osler who had resigned his position as clinical professor at the University of Pennsylvania medical school only shortly before to go to The Johns Hopkins University where, together with Drs. Welch, Halsted, and Kelly, he was destined to become one of the "big four" in American medicine. Like Osler, Walsh believed that it was the practitioner's duty to care for suffering men and women as individual human beings, not as compounds in which various chemical, physical, and biological qualities have been observed.[4] For both these men the practice of medicine was meant to be an art as well as a science. Both believed, moreover, that "without history a man's soul is purblind, seeing only things which almost touch his eyes."[5]

There would be ample warrant for the presence of such men in the profession. Following the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's momentous book, on *The Origin of Species,* the race was on in this country to see how far and how fast the people could and would go to modernize their lives in keeping with the new dispensation. It was not Darwin so much as the Darwinists who caused the trouble. Every field of human endeavor felt the impact of the new ideas, business as well as religion, government as well as the church. "The tyranny of the *Zeitgeist* in the matter of evolution is overwhelming to a degree of

[3] Walsh himself admitted later on in life that Mother Cyril Conway, I.H.M., one of the founders of Marywood College, Scranton, Pennsylvania, "was more responsible for my going into lecture fields than anybody else." Walsh to Sister Immaculata Gillespie, I.H.M., June 8, 1937.

[4] Nowhere does Walsh state this more emphatically than in the preface to his textbook, *Psychotherapy* (New York, 1912). For the attitude of Osler cf. Donald H. Fleming, *William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (Boston, 1954), pp. 168-169, and Harvey Cushing, *Life of Sir William Osler* (New York, 1940), pp. 491-492.

[5] Cf. Walsh, *Makers of Modern Medicine* (New York, 1907), p. 12. Walsh dedicated this book to Osler "who exemplifies for this generation the finest qualities of these makers of modern medicine . . ."

which outsiders have no idea," Walsh was later to observe to the anxious members of his own communion.[6]

It was a time of great trial for Protestant America. Thanks to the influence of such notable divines as Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott, both of whom embraced evolution as a new and grander revelation, many Protestants hastened to exchange the unpalatable dogmaticism of the old religion for the more plausible preachments of the new science. Others, by refusing to allow for any interpretation of the Bible save the literal one, not only incurred the scornful wrath of the Darwinists for their temerity in attempting to defend the indefensible, but by their militant obstinacy actually drove a wedge between science and theology which has not entirely healed to this day. In any event, a new philanthropic interest in the poor and the unchurched began to develop. It was becoming more and more the fashion to judge the worth of a man by what he did rather than by what he believed.[7] Walsh used to refer to this period as the "silly seventies."[8] It appalled him that people should be so willing to abandon an inheritance built up through the ages for something less than a proven fact, the theory of evolution. Nevertheless, he preferred to leave to others the task of plotting proper metes and bounds for would-be Darwinists to heed. He wished to take up the cudgels against a by-product of the doctrine, viz., the assumption that inevitable progress was supposed to be traceable "from century to century—if not actually from generation to generation," and, moreover, to disprove the further supposition that in the teachings of Haeckel and Huxley lay the hope of a better future for the world. Not only did he scorn their popularization of Darwinian evolution as being biologically faulty and altogether without foundation in history, but it seemed nothing less than "horrible selfishness" to him that men should deny their better selves by deliberately falling back on "the supposed bio-

[6] Walsh, "Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist," *Catholic World*, LXXXXIV (November, 1911), 213.

[7] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXIV (1932), especially p. 527.

[8] Interview with James D. Jordan, June 15, 1959. Walsh corresponded extensively with his brother Joseph, his sister Josephine, and his cousin who also acted as the family's legal adviser. He did not make copies of his letters and, unfortunately, much of his correspondence is scattered or has been lost or mislaid.

logical principle of an all pervasive struggle for life as a justification for thoughtlessness of others in any way."[9]

Confirmation for this point of view would become even more evident during 1895-1898, when he went abroad to continue his medical studies. He and his brother settled first in Paris intending to spend a semester under Metchnikoff[10] and Roux[11] at the Pasteur Institute before proceeding to Berlin and Vienna for further study. The former was already famous for his discovery of phagocytosis which revolutionized medical ideas with regard to the role of the cells in the blood; the latter, destined to become director of the institute in 1904, was even then recognized as one of the world's leading bacteriologists. In addition to this there were Fournier's[12] lectures on skin diseases to attend and the younger Charcot to meet, whose father before him had made the Salpêtrière, the hospital for the aged poor of Paris, a world-famous center for the study and diagnosis of nervous diseases. Indeed,

[9] James J. Walsh, *Modern Progress and History: Addresses on Various Academic Occasions* (New York, 1912), pp. 195, 218. "Looked at superficially," Walsh noted, "the struggle for life seems to be the most important factor in any process of evolution that there may be in the world bringing about the elimination of the unfit. But what we find on detailed study is that for the defense of the weak, nature has given a whole series of protective instincts by which the young mothers during the offspring bearing period are able to offset adverse conditions and avert many dangers." Not a struggle for life but mutual aid seemed to be the more likely way to interpret the working of nature's law especially as it operates within specific species. *Ibid.*, p. 216. Walsh was never more than mildly interested in this issue except as noted above. He was content to accept the classic argument from design and leave it to others, notably Father John A. Zahm, C.S.C., to reconcile the new learning with the ancient faith in this particular field.

[10] Elie [Ilya Ilyich] Metchnikoff, 1845-1916. For a biographical sketch, cf. *Annales de L'Institute Pasteur,* XXIX (Paris, 1915), 357-363. Walsh saw in Metchnikoff's theory the true beginning of preventive medicine in modern times. It struck him "as representing a real romance that heroic white cells should lay down their lives for the benefit of those around them . . . ," "Memoir," p. 178.

[11] Pierre Paul Emile Roux, 1853-1933. For a biographical sketch, cf. *Dictionaire des Biographies* (Paris, 1958), II, 1287. This was the teacher whom Walsh admired most, who was the soul of courtesy to all his pupils, and who made it a point, in spite of the enormous demands on his time, to learn the name and place of origin of each one of his students. "I did not see him again until 1925 and yet after we stood and talked for a few minutes, he said: 'Come, I will show you the picture of your class'. . . sure enough he picked out the class of 1896 and pointed out my personal portrait." "Memoir," p. 206.

[12] Jean-Alfred Fournier, 1832-1914. For a biographical sketch, cf. *Annales de Dermatologie et Syphiligraphie,* V (1914-1915), 513-528.

this was the main reason for Walsh's coming to Paris.[13] Here he spent several months making the rounds, compiling as many case histories as he could and learning to his surprise that the same meticulous care for the sick poor that marked Charcot's reform of the Salpêtrière had also characterized the management of the hospitals that had been erected under the auspices of Pope Innocent III back in the thirteenth century.[14]

The most interesting and profitable part of his sojourn abroad, however, was that spent in Berlin working under the guidance of the "most scientifically minded man in Europe," Rudolf Virchow.[15] This internationally famous pathologist soon became a source of never ending fascination to Walsh. He was four men rolled into one: the discoverer and demonstrator of cellular pathology, a sanitarian who made it possible for the German capital to become one of the largest and cleanest cities on the continent, an historian of medicine, and an anthropologist of world-wide fame who refused to follow after the herd "when the world was being run away with Darwinism."[16] It was Virchow in the role of medical historian, who brought Walsh's attention forcibly to the great hospital movement which Pope Innocent III initiated throughout western Christendom. Here are the sentiments of the great pathologist who, though he shared Bismarck's ambition

[13] "Memoir," pp. 174, 182.

[14] Walsh develops this point at some length in his *Medieval Medicine* (London, 1920), chapter X.

[15] Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow, 1821-1902. The only full-length biography of this outstanding figure is that recently written by Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht, *Rudolf Virchow, Doctor, Statesman, Anthropologist* (Madison, 1953). Dr. Ackerknecht is professor of the history of medicine in the University of Wisconsin Medical School. There is voluminous bibliographical data available on Virchow, which the reader may discover in the *Index Medicus*. For more immediate reference, cf. Rudolf Virchow, *Disease, Life and Man*, selected essays translated and with an introduction by Lelland J. Rather (Stanford, 1958); this is Volume 9 of the Stanford series in the medical sciences.

[16] Virchow continued until the very end of his life to be among the conservatives who insisted that man was only on the threshold of any knowledge of evolution and that he would be well advised to wait until "an immense amount more of knowledge" had been unearthed before he might feel justified in formulating any firm principles with regard to the subject. Above all he deprecated the idea that man inevitably made progress and that all things conspired for the best in a world that was improving all the time. "Memoir," p. 326. Walsh later commented on this point in his "Virchow and Conservative Philosophy among German Scientists," *The Messenger*, XXXIX (1903), 4-57.

to put a curb on the influence of the Catholic Church in the new German Empire—and even helped him enact the May Laws, was the hospital organization of Europe.[17]

. . . Was it not calculated to create the most profound impression to see how the mighty Pope who humbled Emperors and deposed Kings, who was the unrelenting adversary of the Albigenses, turned his eyes sympathetically upon the poor and sick, sought the helpless and the neglected upon the streets, and saved the illegitimate children from death in the waters? There is something at once conciliating and fascinating in the fact that at the very time when the Fourth Crusade was inaugurated through his influence, the thought of founding a great organization of an essentially humane character which was eventually to extend throughout Christendom was also taking form in his soul; and that in the same year (1204) in which the new Latin Empire was founded in Constantinople the newly erected hospital of the Holy Spirit, by the old bridge on the other side of the Tiber, was blessed and dedicated as the future center of this organization.[18]

In 1897 Walsh left Berlin for a few weeks to attend the twelfth International Medical Congress then being held at Moscow. With typical American ingenuity he and his brother arranged for the financing of this trip to Russia by offering to cover the congress for a number of American medical journals, in particular the *Medical Record* of New York.[19] It was an opportunity made to their order.

[17] Virchow's attitude reflects the typical nationalist view of the papacy as a meddler in German affairs, so that it would be only logical to expect that he should oppose the Church's historic claims to recognition by the State. His biographer claims that he even coined the name under which the conflict has entered history, *Kulturkampf*. He adds that in this instance by supporting Bismarck in his fight against the Church, Virchow "undoubtedly made the greatest error of his political career." Ackerknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[18] Rudolf Virchow, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der oeffentlichen Medicin und der Seuchenlehre* (Berlin, 1879), II, 24. While it is quite proper to cite Virchow as crediting the Christian tradition for instituting the hopsital system, should be noted that he blamed the ruin of the more than 150 hospitals of the Holy Ghost on the Church's determination to centralize and "hierarchize" the movement, and that he contended that most of these institutions were no more than hostels or asylums for the needy and infirm. The change from hostel to medical hospital came only when the secular city administrations took the hospitals over. Ackerknecht, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Cf. also Karl Sudhoff (Ed.), *Rudolf Virchow und die deutschen Naturforscherversammlungen*, (Leipzig, 1922), p. 19.

[19] According to Dr. Joseph Walsh they were paid the sum of $400 to report the congress. It cost them $125 to make the trip. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

Being conversant in French and fluent in German neither one of them would have the slightest difficulty in making his way among the delegates nor would either of them find it troublesome to have to translate the proceedings from the official French and German texts into English. The Russian government furnished transportation *gratis* once the conferees crossed the border and opportunity was also afforded those who wished it to make a number of side trips into the country. This enabled the Walsh brothers to visit the cathedral city of Kiev, to see the great Laura or monastery, and to talk to a number of pilgrims who had come to visit the shrines there. They declined to act as sponsor at the baptism of one Moslem friend they met on route.[20] Most important of all, they had the good fortune to make the trip in the company of a medical student friend of theirs, a co-worker in Virchow's laboratory, who was himself a Russian. He showed them how to bargain with Russian storekeepers and laughingly reassured them that they should have nothing to fear from the police or government officials.[21]

The two Americans were agreeably surprised with what they saw in Russia. They warned their western readers not to be deceived about the progress of Russian science. An enormous amount of scientific work was being done there which remained largely unknown, alleged the Walshes, because of the language barrier.[22] They described the Institute of Experimental Medicine in St. Petersburg as "truly magnificent," and they were equally impressed with the work being done in Pavlov's[23] laboratories put on exhibit for the visitors' benefit.[24] There was a dramatic quality about it not unlike that produced by William Beaumont's disclosure of Alexis St. Martin's gunshot wound in the stomach which had caused such a sensation when it was first brought

[20] "Memoir," p. 286. Besides paying the baptismal fee the sponsor was supposed to give his godchild a considerable gift, and this constituted the principal reason why strangers were so often asked to do this.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

[22] James J. Walsh, "Twelfth International Medical Congress," *Medical Record*, LII (August 28, 1897), p. 315. This was a weekly journal of medicine and surgery edited at the time by George F. Shrady, A.M., M.D.

[23] Ivan Petrovich Pavlov, 1849-1936. For a brief account of his work, cf. Victor Robinson, "Ivan Petrovich Pavlov," *Medical Life*, XXX (May, 1923), 265-274; also Boris P. Babkin, *Pavlov: A Biography* (Chicago, 1949).

[24] Walsh, *Medical Record*, LII (September 25, 1899), 472. It is ironic that Walsh should have commented on the state of Russian medicine as not being "as medieval as we thought at first."

to the medical world's attention earlier in the century.[25] Altogether the Walshes sent back six lengthy reports covering every phase of the congress's activity, not excluding special comment on a Section in Surgery in which Dr. John B. Murphy of Chicago read a paper demonstrating an operational technique perfected by him and destined to become known in medical history as "Murphy's button" — a mechanical device used to connect visceral ends of a divided intestine.[26] "Communications in English," wrote Walsh, "are usually received with brutal discourtesy at International Congresses. This, however, did not share the usual fate but was listened to with profound attention."[27]

Summing up their impressions in a final dispatch of August 30, 1897, the brothers wrote as follows:

> Can anything good come out of Russia? The medical world might have asked this question some years ago; the answer is obvious now; some of the best scientific work is being done here. The Western visitor to the Congress was sometimes, I think, conscious in the applause given at the sections, and in their relation to one another outside, of a closer bond of union between the other members. They are the representatives of the Slav races of Europe today. There is an impression among them that the future is theirs. The Celts and the Teutons need scarcely be counted with at all; and so must come from the East once more a people whose acme of culture and civilization and science shall represent the latest step in the world's evolution. Such is their dream.[28]

An interesting experience awaited James Walsh on his return to Berlin. He was just in time to attend the World Congress on Leprosy sponsored by the Emperor William II and to contest Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson's[29] view that the prevalence of leprosy on the northern shores of South America was due to the Church's regulation requiring

[25] "Memoir," pp. 294-295. For further information about this physiological feat, cf. J. S. Myers, *Life and Letters of William Beaumont, including hitherto unpublished data concerning the case of Alexis St. Martin*, with an introduction by Sir William Osler (St. Louis, 1912).

[26] "Memoir," p. 299. Cf. also Loyal E. Davis, *J. B. Murphy, Stormy Petrel of Surgery* (New York, 1938), pp. 305-306.

[27] *Medical Record*, LII (August 21, 1897), 428. Loyal E. Davis, *Surgeon, Extraordinary—The Life of J. B. Murphy* (London, 1938), p. 166.

[28] *Medical Record*, LII (September 25, 1897), 472.

[29] Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, 1828-1913. For a biographical sketch cf. *British Journal of Dermatology*, XXV (London, 1913), 225-227.

Catholics to eat fish on Friday and during most of Lent.[30] Though not entitled to take issue with any of these conferees, Walsh asked for and was granted permission to answer Hutchinson which he did by simply pointing out that the South American republics enjoyed the same indulgence which had been granted to Spain during the time of the Moorish invasions, and as a consequence, Catholics in South America could eat meat at all times and were not required to eat fish.[31] Hansen,[32] the discoverer of the leprosy bacillus, supported Walsh's point of view. Being a Norwegian and knowing the situation in the Scandinavian countries, where, incidentally, leprosy was endemic and most people ate fish from choice or necessity and not because of any church law, he was quite persuaded that fish, whether in good or bad condition, had nothing to do with the occurrence of leprosy either directly or indirectly.[33] The difficulty here was to convince the civilized world that some diseases, such as leprosy, tuberculosis, or syphilis should not be classified solely and wholly as hereditary in character, however comfortably that notion might happen to fit in with certain nineteenth-century bourgeois prejudices nurtured on false premises derived from the principle of evolution, but that such diseases were truly contagious. Most of all there was the natural conservatism of the older doctors to contend with.[34] Hence it did not surprise Walsh that the idea of heredity as a very important causative factor in leprosy should prevail well into modern times. What did surprise him was the discovery that the much maligned people of the Middle Ages actually treated the disease as contagious, and because they had the good sense to provide for the enforced segregation of its victims they were able not only to bring about a gradual

[30] Cf. Jonathan Hutchinson, *On Leprosy and Fish-eating. A Statement of Facts and Explanations* (London, 1906).

[31] "Memoir," p. 242. Walsh was willing to concede that spoiled fish might be a predisposing or even a direct cause of leprosy but not for the reason alleged by Hutchinson.

[32] Gerhart Henrik Armauer Hansen, 1841-1912. For a biographical sketch cf. the *New International Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition (New York, 1930), X, 671.

[33] "Memoir," p. 243.

[34] The attitude of one distinguished New York physician was typical. Walsh writes that when Robert Koch (1843-1910) announced his discovery and isolation of the tubercle bacillus this gentleman was heard to exclaim: "There now you have the demonstration that the theory that microbes can cause disease is utterly false. If there is one disease that surely is not conveyed by contagion it is pulmonary consumption, and yet this German insists on finding a germ for it." *Ibid.*, p. 244.

reduction in the death rate from the disease but its ultimate and almost complete eradication from the European continent as well.[35]

It was while he was still in Berlin that Walsh applied for and received a commission from Dr. Thomas Stedman, editor for William Wood and Company, to call on a number of German medical scholars and prod them into completing their commitments for a large system of medicine which that company planned to publish.[36] Thus he contrived not only to meet distinguished university scholars, among them von Behring, professor of bacteriology at the University of Marburg,[37] but also to talk with students, attend the meetings of learned societies, visit libraries, classrooms, cathedrals, clinics, hospitals, and schools at Marburg, Jena, Greifswald, and Lubeck. It was in this city that he happened to overhear two priest students speaking Gaelic. They had gone there to study at the philological center made famous by Zeuss,[38] in anticipation of their teaching that language at the Catholic University of America in Washington. For all three it proved to be a most enjoyable and profitable meeting.[39]

It was this eagerness to exploit every opportunity for study, to make every moment count, which enabled Walsh to do so much with his time. To have been confined to a laboratory while sojourning in Europe would have stultified him. Worse still, it would have deprived him of the better part of his education. Nor was it a question of flitting from one medical congress to another and taking voluminous notes of the proceedings against some future contingency only to return once more to the drudgery of routine study. He reported such events not only because he was paid to do so and meant to carry out his assignment conscientiously, but also because it gave him the chance to relate medical reform to a reform of society itself.[40]

[35] Walsh, *Medieval Medicine*, p. 182.

[36] "Memoir," p. 305.

[37] Emil Adolph von Behring, 1854-1917. For a biographical sketch cf. *British Medical Journal*, I (1917), 498.

[38] Johann Kaspar Zeuss, 1806-1856. For a biographical sketch cf. Michaud (ed.), *Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne*, XLV, 499-500.

[39] "Memoir," p. 314. Walsh learned to speak Gaelic as a child. He learned German and French in college, was fluent in the former language and adept in the latter, and could read Italian and Spanish easily since he was an expert in the knowledge of Latin (and, of course, Greek). He even added a smattering of Russian to his linguistic accomplishments to facilitate his trip to Moscow in 1897.

[40] Here, Walsh merely follows Virchow's lead, who never ceased to insist that medicine was a social science—indeed—that social science was a division of medi-

What ordinary medical student would have taken it on himself to attend the kaiser's reception and tea to the delegates of the Congress on Leprosy not as a passive spectator, but with an eye to engaging that monarch in conversation the better to assure him that American newspapers were interested in leprosy, and that it was not true to assume that because the United States was a new country there were no cases to be found there? Walsh suggested that the situation in his country was not unlike that which existed in the Kreise Memel where a number of cases had been segregated in two or three colonies, with the government making every effort to reduce the number of the afflicted.[41] What ordinary medical student would have bothered to make the acquaintance of Ramon y Cajal,[42] distinguished professor of the University of Madrid, and study the measure of his achievement with regard to the minute anatomy of the brain so that he might have an answer to the question: can any good come out of Spain;[43] or, have used up his Christmas vacation of 1897 to go to Prague to check into a riot which had taken place in the medical department of the university;[44] or, would have asked Virchow to tell him the derivation of his name and how he wished to have it pronounced;[45] or why he considered Johannes Mueller the greatest teacher of physiology that ever lived;[46] or, why he (Virchow) became so involved in politics;[47] or, would have noticed that Neisser,[48] the discoverer of the gonococ-

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cine, which is the highest form of human insight. Cf. Ackerknecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

[41] "Memoir," p. 249.

[42] Santiago Ramon y Cajal, 1852-1934. For a biographical sketch cf. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, XLIX (Madrid, 1923), 568-574.

[43] "Memoir," pp. 341-343.

[44] ". . . We were young enough to be willing to take some risks in the making of history and we were Irish enough to want to see a row even though it might involve some personal danger . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[45] ". . . I once ventured to ask him how his name should be pronounced and he told me that the spelling that would nearest represent the correct way would be *Firko*. He insisted on the changing of the *V* to *F* and the *ow* was to be pronounced as a long *o* in English . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 339. Ackernecht cites Walsh as his authority for describing Virchow as Slav-German, since that was the way Virchow himself explained it to Walsh. *Op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

[46] "Memoir," p. 329. Walsh devotes a chapter of his *Makers of Modern Medicine* to describing Mueller's greatness.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 327.

[48] Albert Ludwig Siegmund Neisser, 1855-1916. For a brief biographical sketch cf. *British Journal of Dermatology*, XXVIII (London, 1916), 320.

cus, was introduced to the German empress at the Congress on Leprosy as having done excellent work on the tubercle bacillus to spare Her Imperial Majesty the pain of hearing the mention of a less savory medical term?[49]

Such a man would never be satisfied with merely practicing medicine on his return home. He had stored up such a tremendous backlog of learning over the long period of apprenticeship that he must share it with others in spite of himself. Hence it was to be expected that James Walsh should become a teacher and a medical news reporter, and that he would affiliate with the Catholic Summer School of America and begin the preparation of those lectures which would ultimately find their embodiment in such books as the *Makers of Modern Medicine, The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries,* and *The Popes and Science.* Nor did he have long to wait before the Jesuits would decide that it was time Fordham should become a university and that he might help his alma mater attain that status. Thus it happened that Walsh was given the post of acting dean of the Fordham Medical School in 1906 and told by Father Daniel J. Quinn, S.J., president of the institution, to go ahead and make his plans accordingly.[50] A number of people, some of them Catholics, warned him against taking the job. Was it not true, they argued, that the Catholic Church looked down on dissection? How then could he run a medical school under Catholic auspices when the Church was opposed to cutting up the human body?[51]

That such a view should have become so widespread was due undoubtedly to the willingness of the public to accept the judgments pronounced by Andrew Dickson White as beyond denial, such was the reputation of the one-time president of Cornell University for scholarship. White had published his *magnum opus, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom,* in 1896, wherein

[49] "Memoir," p. 247.

[50] Walsh himself gives a brief history of the medical school in his *American Jesuits* (New York, 1934), pp. 157-159. He admits in his "Memoir," p. 542, that "a great many of the older friends of Fordham were inclined to think that a movement of this kind was premature." Father John J. Collins, S.J., who was president of Fordham in 1904 when the decision was made to establish law and medical departments, sided with those who felt that it would be an appropriate time to begin the work. "Father Collins himself said that the way to begin was to begin, that all beginnings were small, which was fortunate rather than unfortunate, because the organizations came in this way to be properly coordinated as they grew up together." *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 489.

he advanced the thesis that it had been the constant policy of the Church for all the centuries down to that day to prevent the progress of medicine as far as possible.[52] Walsh had already challenged the validity of a part of this version of medical history by emphatically pointing out to another devotee of the White thesis, Sir Michael Foster, professor of physiology of the University of Cambridge, that the popes had not declared the study of anatomy a sin against the Holy Ghost.[53]

Nothing might have come of the matter had not William J. Cruikshank, M.D., of Brooklyn, New York, sought to answer Walsh in the pages of the *Medical Library and Historical Journal* by referring disparagingly to "the pitiful retrogression of Science, culture and morality which had marked the centuries of the spiritual despotism of Rome," and had he not given White as his authority.[54] This drew Walsh and White into a debate in which the latter came off very badly, inasmuch as he was not only caught making assertions that he could not substantiate and had to admit that he was entitled "to no mercy" from his opponent for making them, but *mirabile dictu,* he insisted on citing papal documents for something else than what they had said.[55] One would have thought that with White's historical methodology so thoroughly discredited as a result of the debate of 1906 and the publication of the *Popes and Science* in 1908, the world would hear no more of papal prohibitions of anatomy or chemistry and

[52] Here White was merely carrying on where John William Draper had left off. Notorious for his antipathy toward the Catholic Church, Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York, 1874) and *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (New York, 1863) probably formed the basis on which White drew for some of his conclusions. Yet neither one of them bothered to consult original sources. White was content to say that his only purpose was to state facts *"as nearly as I could get at them,* in order to prevent any recurrence of the old mistakes which have, in my opinion, cost theology and science so dear . . ." White to Walsh, June 22, 1906. (Italics added.)

[53] Walsh, "The Popes and the History of Anatomy," *Medical Library and Historical Journal,* II (April, 1904), 10-28. This quarterly, edited by Albert Tracy Huntington, librarian, County of Kings, Brooklyn, New York, and published from 1903 to 1907, was the official organ of the Association of Medical Librarians.

[54] *Ibid.,* III (April, 1905), 188-190.

[55] White to Walsh, June 22, 1906. While protesting that he bore no malice toward the Church, White would excuse any restrictions which it might have imposed for the reason that they seemed to him inseparable from the *Weltanschauung* of the period. "As to your reply" [to White's arguments, cf. *Medical*

medical history would be that much nearer the truth. But prejudice dies hard. On January 3, 1931, Walsh wrote to his cousin: "This morning I had the shock of my life," and he went on to add that he had received a letter from Father John A. O'Brien of the Newman Foundation at the University of Illinois asking him would he not think about writing an answer to President White's book. "I had to tell him that I had written it twenty-five years ago."[56]

Pope Pius X had told Walsh in an audience which had taken place in the summer of 1904 that he did not believe very much in controversy.[57] Nor did the pope think that much good was ever accomplished by controversial writing. And Walsh had taken this advice to heart. Indeed, he had followed the Holy's Father's suggestion to the letter in dealing with Cruikshank and White making a careful exposition of the facts of the case and the presentation of what he had to say in simple straight-forward language. He often wondered since whether medical superstitions like the poor "would be always with us."[58] It would be vain to expect the war against prejudice to be won with a single victory. The trouble was too deepseated for that. As H. L. Mencken later explained to Walsh:

> . . . Obviously White fell into a number of errors, but equally obviously, at least to my way of thinking, he was on safe enough ground in his main contentions. I simply cannot convince myself that theology has ever been honestly favorable to the sciences. I see indeed no reason why it should be, for the two have antagonistic objects or, perhaps more precisely, they try to reach the same need by widely different paths. In all this of course, I confess to a certain prejudice. I am almost wholly devoid of religious

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Library and Historical Journal, IV (March, 1906), 56-85], "I am certainly entitled to no mercy and desire none. You are thoroughly entitled to be as severe as you care to be . . ." For Walsh's rejoinder cf. *ibid.,* IV (September, 1906), 263-286.

[56] Walsh to Jordan, January 3, 1931.

[57] "Memoir," pp. 486-488. The pope remarked that if the Apostle Paul were alive he would surely devote himself to the use of the printing press with as much ardor as he did to letter writing in his own day. He reminded Walsh that there was nothing that he could do that would mean more for the service of the Church than the cultivation of whatever literary talent he had, not for controversy, he repeated, but for the dissemination of information. The effect on Walsh produced by this meeting with the Holy Father cannot be overestimated.

[58] Walsh, "The Warfare of Theology with Science Twenty Years After," *Catholic World,* C (October, 1914), 69.

feeling and so it is hard for me to understand the man who has it. My experience is that he finds it equally hard to understand me. . . .[59]

Walsh told Cruikshank that far from accepting his view that the nineteenth century marked an epoch of scientific progress unprecedented in the history of the world, he seriously considered that the thirteenth was the greatest of centuries and that he planned to deliver a course of lectures on that subject for the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. "I would respectfully invite my Brooklyn colleague to these lectures," he wrote hopefully, "if he wishes to see something of the better side of the calumniated Middle Ages."[60]

Needless to say, Cruikshank did not avail himself of the invitation. From this simple beginning, however, evolved Walsh's most notable work, *The Thirteenth—Greatest of Centuries*,[61] the title and thesis of which so intrigued President Theodore Roosevelt that he invited the author to have lunch with him at the White House on April 21, 1908, so that he could question him about it.[62] When the two met the

[59] Mencken to Walsh, March 7, 1932. Despite the fact that White confessed his mistakes he refused to do anything about them. He told Walsh that he was too old to correct them. "Memoir," p. 490. Subsequent editions of his *History* contain not one word of amendment of the original text, nor is any acknowledgement made as to the fact that a different point of view had been brought to light as a result of the debate with Walsh. From time to time the latter would state that White had been worsted in the issue only to find that it would crop up again. Cf. Walsh, "Anatomy and the Ambassador," *Commonweal*, I (November 19, 1924), 32-34. This article was written to answer Don Gelasio Caetani, Italian Ambassador to Washington, who charged in "The Myriad-Minded Leonardo Da Vinci, Forerunner of Science," *Scientific Monthly*, XIX (November, 1924), 454, that the Church was wont to excommunicate those who practiced dissection. By now the question is rather definitely decided in Walsh's favor. Walter Artelt, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin, 1940), p. 22.

[60] *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, III (October, 1905), 263.

[61] It sold over 70,000 copies, despite the fact that six publishers rejected it (it was published first by the Catholic Summer School Press in 1907) and some reviewers were not over-enthusiastic in their praise of it. Cf. *Saturday Review of Literature*, CV (February, 1908), 175.

[62] "Memoir," pp. 521-524. Though Walsh was "the guest of the day," the president also asked Martha Berry, founder of the Berry school "for mountain boys and girls," to join them at luncheon and was thoughtful enough to include Attorney-General Charles J. Bonaparte and Comptroller of the Currency, Lawrence O. Murray, co-religionists of Walsh in the company. It was the latter who suggested to the president that he ought to read *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*.

president got to talking about the guilds in the Middle Ages and the opportunities to rise that were afforded educated people in that era. Somehow a discussion on the merits of the Square Deal arose and the gradual absorption of the opportunities to rise in the world of 1908 duly noted. "With a characteristic exposure of the Roosevelt teeth," the president then proceeded to blurt out the names of the seven richest men in the country and suggested that if there was one thing that he hoped to do, it was to bring about a state of things in America in which the mass of men would have a better chance and the few overrich would be deprived of the power that money gave them.[63] The president then asked his guest to tell him how he came to write the book and was informed that it was the fruit of much study and travel in Europe. Walsh cited rather quickly the list of the great cathedrals he had visited and mentioned the notes he had made on their marvelous hammered ironwork, stained glass, and carved woodwork. He called Roosevelt's attention to the number of universities that had been founded, many of which still flourished, and the great works of literature that had been written in the thirteenth century. He reminded his host that the standards in American medical schools in that year (1908) were not so high as those which the Emperor Frederick II had issued in 1240 to govern the practice of medicine in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.[64]

What interested Roosevelt most of all in the book was the chapter on exploration and geography. He was impressed with the fact that the task of penetrating into Tibet and entering the holy city of Llasa had been essayed by a Franciscan friar almost 600 years before the Younghusband expedition did it in 1904. Nor did Walsh miss the opportunity to let it be known that contrary to general belief some of the world's greatest travellers had been "lazy monks." The president admitted that from what he had already read of the book he had been somewhat converted to the thesis: "But why," he asked Walsh, "did you put the challenge in the title?" "That's easy," came back the answer, "I'm Irish and I go around with a chip on my shoulder."[65] The friendship between the two men well outlasted this single luncheon meeting. Roosevelt read every book other than the medical his-

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 526-527. Among the names uttered with particular emphasis were Morgan, Harriman, Rockefeller, and Carnegie.

[64] For the text of the law regulating the practice of medicine cf. Walsh, *The Popes and Science* (New York, 1911), Appendix III.

[65] "Memoir," p. 534.

tories which Walsh wrote, consulted him about evolution and Darwinism,[66] confided to him his surprise that so little first class literary work was being done in the country[67] and while urging him to write a history to be called the century of Spain (1550-1650) which would follow his *Century of Columbus* (1450-1550), nevertheless, warned him of the danger of trying to define accurately centuries by men. "If the attempt is seriously made," he wrote, "I think that whether you do or do not approve of Mahomet [*sic*] or Luther, you will have to speak of the 7th century as Mahomet's [*sic*] century and of the 16th Century as Luther's century."[68]

Meanwhile Walsh's position at the Fordham Medical School had become so untenable with the change in the administration of the University in 1911 that he was forced to resign as dean in November, 1912.[69] This happened shortly after the school had been rated Class A, subject to the initiation of certain reforms which the Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association suggested should be made, and which Walsh, armed with the written guarantee of Father Thomas J. McCluskey, S.J., the new president of Fordham, had promised would be carried out.[70] But when the latter insisted on relieving his chief associate, pro-dean, Victor E. Sorapure, from

[66] Roosevelt to Walsh, June 11, 1908; February 23, 1911.

[67] *Ibid.*, February 28, 1918.

[68] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1916. Roosevelt prefaced these observations by writing: ". . . It is always a stimulating thing for me to meet you, because, my dear Dr. Walsh, you are in theory of the Thirteenth Century and I am, in theory, of the Twentieth Century. I say 'theory' in both cases because when we come down to the practical facts of life, you and I would approve or tolerate substantially the same things and neither of us would permit the existence of an ecclesiastical or civil system of control over thought which would forbid others from thinking as (either of us) sincerely believe and from giving expression to their thoughts . . ."

[69] It was the most painful blow he received, according to Mrs. Walsh, since he had been asked to leave the seminary in 1892. There was the added misfortune that shortly after the change in the administration of the University, a change was made in the administration of the Maryland-New York Province, Father Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J., going out as provincial as of October 4, 1912, to be succeeded by Father Anthony Maas, S.J. The latter was not as personally familiar, as was his predecessor, with Walsh's work at the Medical School.

[70] The pledges were: first, to open a clinic at the school by October, 1912; second, to have a minimum of six full-time professors devoting all their time to the school, instead of three as before. (The school had come in for criticism in Abraham Flexner's celebrated Bulletin No. 4 published in 1910 by the

all administrative responsibility in the management of the school and it thus became evident to Walsh that he would be unable to direct the reform program in keeping with the spirit that had prompted him and his associates to ask for and obtain AMA recognition, he and they had no recourse but to quit their posts.[71]

Fordham Medical School was the loser. Within three weeks after the "insurgents" had resigned, there was talk that the AMA would drop the school's rating from Class A to Class C.[72] The school struggled valiantly to recover its aplomb but whether, because of Walsh's defection—the point is a moot one—or the coming on of war, or, as was later alleged, because of the inability of the University to secure an endowment that would pay the salaries of the six full-time professors required to satisfy AMA standards, it became necessary at last to close the school in 1921. Walsh himself never gave up hope that one day it might be reopened.[73] Just to have been there when Walsh was dean was an experience in itself. For besides furnishing the regular course of studies, he insisted that his students learn something about the history of medicine. For it was his belief that by providing a background of knowledge as to things medical in olden times the students would not lose sight of those underlying principles which meant so much for the proper care of patients and for the successful practice of medicine. At least it would teach them to be less cocksure of themselves.[74] Out of this effort came one of his most solid achievements, a treatise on mind cure as exercised by the patient on himself,

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Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching for listing some seventy-two instructors as available for the teaching of forty-two medical students—"piecing out the quilt," Flexner called this, p. 115); and third, to guarantee an expenditure of some $20,000 a year over and above the receipts of the institution, to be devoted to increasing and improving the teaching force. New York *Times*, November 9, 1912.

[71] *Ibid.* Thirteen other members of the faculty resigned, virtually wiping out the entire clinical staff of the school.

[72] *Ibid.*, November 27, 1912. A plea to the Council on Medical Education resulted in the obtaining of a Class B rating. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1913. In 1915, however, the school was again rated Class A. Cf. *American Medical Directory 1916*, p. 87.

[73] Walsh, *American* Jesuits, p. 159.

[74] "Memoir," pp. 546-550. He was one of the pioneers in the field, who, together with such men as John Shaw Billings, William Osler, Victor Robinson, the two Flexners, and Eugene F. Cordell in this country, fought against the dominant pragmatism of the nineteenth century which would have turned doctors into mere technicians or mechanics interested only in their own narrow specialty.

under the influence of his physician, which grew out of his lecture notes and which he entitled *Psychotherapy* and had published in 1912.[75]

He did something else that was unprecedented for the time: he arranged for the transport to Fordham of a whole galaxy of internationally famous professors so that the students, who could not as readily go to Vienna, Madrid, Zurich, and Munich in the twentieth century as their counterparts might have done in the Middle Ages, would, nevertheless, come in contact with expert knowledge. Thus in the fall of 1912 Dean Walsh and the Fordham Medical School played host to such medical celebrities as Drs. Henry Head and Gordon Holmes of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, London; Dr. Nicholas Achucarro, coadjutor to Ramon y Cajal of Madrid; Dr. Horatio Robinson Storer who in 1853 introduced chloroform as an anaesthetic in the United States and Dr. Carl Jung, then associate in psychiatry in the University of Zurich. For three weeks these men, Dr. Storer excepted, together with such eminent practitioners as Dr. Colin K. Russell of McGill University in Montreal, Dr. William A. White, then superintendent of the government hospital for the insane in Washington, Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe of New York and others lectured on their respective specialties before an enthusiastic audience of students and teachers from all over the eastern half of the United States.[76] Commenting editorially on the event the New York *Sun* expressed the hope

> . . . that incidents of this kind may be frequently repeated in order that the cosmopolitan character of science, the handmaiden of humane endeavor, may be exemplified in our country which suffers the unmerited stigma of being wedded to material advancement . . .[77]

A short time after executing this triumph, however, Walsh would sever his connection with the Fordham Medical School and that would

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Today the value of a study of the history of medicine is no longer denied, though there may be some difference of opinion as to how it can best be attained. Cf. the excellent article by George Rosen, "The Place of History in Medical Education," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XXII (September-October, 1948), 594-629.

[75] Cf. the review in the *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital*, XXIII (September, 1912), 283.

[76] New York *Times*, September 8, 1912.

[77] September 17, 1912. Cf also, "Notes and News," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, XXXIX (July, 1912), 503-504.

end whatever dream he might have had for realizing at Fordham something of the achievement produced by Welch at The Hopkins.[78]

Dr. Walsh would never cease to be vitally interested in the history of medicine and in the lives of those men who contributed to its making. Indeed, the incentive for settling in New York when he first returned from Europe in 1898 was supplied by an offer from Lea Brothers, medical publishers, to become assistant editor of *Medical News,* a weekly journal which had been published for years in Philadelphia but had since transferred its headquarters to New York.[79] This was the spur which set him to interviewing some of the most important practitioners then alive and which gave him at the same time the ideal forum for recording such copy. Out of this eventually came contact and friendship with Drs. Jacobi, O'Dwyer, Emmet, and Flick.[80] That he was both a successful and hard-working reporter is evident on two counts: the amount of medical history which he ultimately managed to get published and the esteem in which these men

[78] The real stumbling block to Walsh's continuance at Fordham, apart from the clash of personalities which would have been inevitable given the temperament of the principals involved, centered on a difference of opinion as to how the Medical School was to function. Walsh was essentially interested in having the students get as much clinical experience as possible. That necessitated sending them off campus to various hospitals scattered over the entire metropolitan area. To him attendance at lectures was of secondary importance. Father McCluskey, being more conservative-minded, preferred that the emphasis be placed on attendance at lectures. He could not bring himself to understand the need for such diffusion of effort especially when Fordham had just spent $200,000 to build a new clinic on campus. The cost of maintaining a medical school, great as it might be, was not what deterred him. It stuck in his craw that there should appear to be so little teaching taking place on campus. He deprecated Walsh's services because he lectured "only once a week," stating to the press, moreover, that the services of the others who resigned with him could readily be dispensed with, they lectured so infrequently on campus. New York *Times,* November 10, 1912.

[79] "Memoir," p. 421.

[80] The friendship with Abram Jacobi developed from contacts made at meetings of the New York State Medical Society (he had been driven out of Germany because of participation in the revolution of 1848 and had a most interesting life story to tell), *ibid.,* p. 425; that with Joseph O'Dwyer resulted from Walsh's having been a witness to his efforts to win acceptance for the practice of intubation, *ibid.,* pp. 426-427; that with Thomas Addis Emmet was the outcome of monthly luncheon meetings at which one Irishman regaled the other with talk about "the old days" (Emmet was the nephew of Robert Emmet, the Irish martyr, and the son of John Emmet, physician and professor of obstetrics in the medical school of the University of Virginia when that school was con-

held him.[81] Perhaps the most interesting, and, incidentally, the least known, of his contacts with eminent men of medicine was the one that developed with Colonel Fielding H. Garrison, for many years associate editor of the *Index Medicus* and also author of the foremost reference book on the history of medicine in the English language.[82] Garrison probably knew of Walsh by name since he was on record in the *Index Medicus* as having published even while he was a medical student in Philadelphia. But it was not until the summer of 1911 that the two men began to correspond. "I have your books on the Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries, The Popes and Churchmen in Science [*sic*] on my desk before me," Garrison wrote on July 18, 1911, adding that he meant to read them carefully and would be glad to have Walsh correct him on any points relating to the history of the Church. To Walsh's inquiry as to whether or not he might come to Washington and avail himself of the facilities of the Surgeon-General's Library, Garrison extended a most cordial welcome. And he concluded: "Your recent papers in the current periodicals, which I have followed with attention, strike me as among the very few American contributions to medical history which may be called 'forschungen' in the German sense of turning up new facts."[83]

Walsh's efforts to arouse a greater interest on Garrison's part in the history of mediaeval medicine, however, proved only partially successful. The latter's only concern was for taking a line that was safe and sane and also fair and understandable to the few doctors really interested. Somehow Garrison thought that Oriental, Arabic, and mediaeval medicine would always be "dubious phases susceptible to exaggerated estimates amounting to proclamations *ex monte* . . ."[84] Yet Walsh's

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sidered the foremost medical center in the country), *ibid.*, pp. 433-445; that with Lawrence Flick came as a result of personal knowledge through his brother's association with him (Flick was enormously influential in preventing the spread of tuberculosis), *ibid.*, pp. 355-359.

[81] To mention only the books: *History of New York State Medical Society* (New York, 1907); *History of Medicine in New York State*, 5 Vols. (National Americana Society, 1919); *History of Medicine* (Hagerstown, Maryland, 1925); *The History of Nursing* (New York, 1929).

[82] *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1914).

[83] Garrison to Walsh, July 18, 1911.

[84] Solomon R. Kagan, *Fielding H. Garrison, A Biography* (Boston, 1948), p. 81. Garrison acknowledged that access to an understanding of mediaeval medicine depended on one's familiarity with Latin. It was something he would be pleased to leave to Walsh. His (Garrison's) principal aim in studying the

influence is clearly evident in the number of added references which Garrison permitted himself to incorporate in the 1929 revision of his text over and above those items from Walsh's works which had already made their appearance in earlier editions.[85] While on military duty in the Philippines in 1925 Garrison wrote to Walsh to tell him that he lent some of his books to the officers in Manila, all of whom professed a willingness to accept his (Walsh's) facts which were new to them though they remained dubious about his arguments. Garrison noted the ironclad rule among the military to treat facts as superior to opinions and then, perhaps, sensing that what he had written could wound a friend, he begged him not to consider this as criticism of his work. "You have been forced into a defensive attitude *'pro domo sua,'* " he observed gallantly, "and that is the only criticism I have heard of your writings."[86]

Nor did Walsh cease to interest himself in education simply because he was no longer affiliated with the Fordham Medical School. Of course, he was still very much committed to the proposition that the only hope for sound medical education was organic connection with a university despite the fact that as far as his contribution to education was concerned, he would have to be content with the role of academic journeyman for the rest of his days.[87] He could still keep on

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history of medicine was to get the basic idea behind the great mass of seemingly unrelated facts and to make some synthesis of it. Cf. Solomon R. Kagan, *Life and Letters of Fielding H. Garrison* (Boston, 1938), pp. 216-217. Walsh wrote the introduction to this book.

[85] In the 1914 edition, Garrison cites Walsh as his authority at pp. 80, 104, 118, 120, 169, 191, 589, and 663. The 1929 edition contains further reference to Walsh's writings at pp. 157, 159, 161 (here Garrison adopts the Walsh interpretation of the import of the bull *De sepulturis* of Pope Boniface VIII citing *The Popes and Science* p. 413), 173, 285, 293, and 752. Walsh is cited in the text itself as having discovered from his studies of mediaeval medicine that "the human mind soon tires of difficult or insoluble problems and may drop a subject for centuries," p. 663. Other writers to have acknowledged an indebtedness to Walsh are Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 173, 181, 182, 255, and 333; and Artelt, *op. cit.*

[86] Garrison to Walsh, April 9, 1925.

[87] It would be an error to assume that Walsh was rendered unhappy on this account. Osler put it for him about as well as it might be said in these words of his farewell address at The Hopkins in February, 1905: ". . . When academic men begin to be wedded to one place and one institution for life they cease to be fully alive and university presidents ought to welcome a 'nomadic spirit' in their faculties." Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

insisting, however, that whenever men set themselves to doing things, they accomplished about as good results at any one time in history as at any other, which was all the more reason why people should not deceive themselves into thinking that because they were doing something which immediately preceding generations knew nothing about, they must be doing something that had never been done in the world before. A little knowledge of medical history would show that most surgical instruments had been reinvented at least three or four times.[88] "I have sometimes taken a little malicious pleasure in pointing out how many of the things that we think are new," he remarked to the New Jersey State Medical Society, "are indeed very old." And he went on to add that whenever men observed for themselves, drew their own conclusions patiently, and without haste, and avoided theorizing and the hasty over-conclusiveness so characteristic of youth, they were capable of doing great things.[89]

Speaking at the 1910 commencement exercises for the graduates of the School of Medicine and Dentistry of Saint Louis University, he put it this way: "Observation," and he repeated the word for emphasis, "Observation is the one thing that counts."[90] Again and again he returned to this theme in his writings, stressing it notably in proclaiming the achievements of such eminent natural scientists as Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon whom he lauded as a master of experiment. "Stronger expression (than those made by both these men) in commendation of observation and experiment as the only real sources of knowledge . . ." he observed, "could scarcely be found

[88] Walsh, *Education. How Old the New* (New York, 1910), p. 57. Walsh would substitute for the notion of inevitable progress something which he described as "the curious ups and downs of interest in particular subjects which follow one another with almost definite regularity in history as we know it." *Ibid.*, p. 56. First comes a preoccupation with some phase of the expression of life. A wonderful period of development follows. Then comes a period of self-consciousness and refinement thought at first to herald new progress but which instead hampers originality. Next comes a period of distinct decadence marked by increased criticism of what was done in the past. Just when by this conscious reflection it might be expected that man would surely advance rapidly, further decay takes place and a nadir is reached out of which man is lifted by a new generation usually neglectful of the immediate past sometimes, indeed, deprecating it bitterly, though this new development may have been awakened (generated) by a further past which he has lost the power to appreciate.

[89] Walsh, "The Medicine of Our Forefathers," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, LIX (November 15, 1913), 1799-1803.

[90] Walsh, *Education. How Old the New*, p. 390.

in any modern scientist."[91] Yet he would not have the student think that knowledge of his specialty was all he needed to know. "I hope you graduates will not forget in the time to come," he told his own Fordham medical students, "that there are many things that affect men and women besides bacteria and auto-intoxication of various kinds and metabolic disturbances and nutritional changes." He liked to remind them that they would be doing only half their duty if their only concern was to make a living or to make money. "You are bound besides to make medicine" was the burden of his final advice to them.[92]

It was, of course, as a lecturer and apologist that Walsh was best known in his lifetime.[93] This was bread and butter, meat and drink to him, and he stuck to it manfully until the end came in February, 1942. Indeed, it was characteristic of him that even as death stood by to pluck his ear he should be pathfinding in a wholly new field of literary endeavor. For not only did he use these last years to open the door to a neglected chapter in the history of American education by drawing attention to the persistence of scholastic teaching in the colonial colleges,[94] but he also managed to complete a first draft of what he hoped would be his *monumentum aere perennius,* the biography of his grandmother, Peggy Kearney.[95]

To this labor of love he gave the title "Peggy Sees Life," thinking that he could best achieve his purpose by allowing the story to take the form of an historical novel. The result is a charmingly written account which, after relating Peggy's early life in Ireland, goes on to

[91] Walsh, *Medieval Medicine,* pp. 14-15.

[92] Walsh, *Education. How Old the New,* p. 398.

[93] The exigencies of time and space forbid dwelling on the many other aspects of Walsh's long and fruitful career. What he did for the Catholic Summer School of America, his part in helping to found the first Newman Club to come into existence in the United States, his long years of part-time service in the field of undergraduate education, his role as a pacifist in World War I, not to mention the fact that he published over forty-five books and wrote more than 500 articles during his lifetime, any one of these might make the subject of a separate paper. For the best listing of his achievements, cf. *Who Was Who in America,* II, 554. Walsh was the Laetare Medalist for 1916.

[94] *Education of the Founding Fathers of the Republic* (New York, 1935). Cf. especially the review (by Samuel Eliot Morison) in *New England Quarterly,* VIII (September, 1935), 455.

[95] Walsh sent the manuscript to Appleton-Century Company who referred it to the then President of Hunter College for his critical appraisal. John L. B. Williams to George N. Shuster, October 16, 1939.

tell of her leaving the "ould sod" on less than a day's notice and of the harrowing ninety-three-day journey overseas in a ship about the size of the *Mayflower* which was not long out of the harbor of Killala before it ran into dreadful winter storms and the crew and passengers began to succumb to the "ship fever." Sixteen-year-old Peggy was the only woman to survive a voyage that was meant to end happily in Philadelphia in the fall of 1826.[96] Instead the ship's captain thought himself lucky to bring his vessel safely to port at Quebec. So it was that after two years and much walking Peggy finally reached her destination in Pennsylvania where she married and raised a family and lived long enough to tell her story to a favorite grandson.

James Walsh inherited much of his grandmother's driving spirit, her boundless physical energy, her capacity for work, her love of people. On the other side there was grandfather Walsh, a one-time hedge schoolmaster in the old country who taught him to read and so supplied that initial mental impetus which the Jesuits nurtured and which later found such notable climax under Virchow's tutelage. After that it was a question of pursuing knowledge to its utmost limits, stopping only long enough to make sure of the facts and then moving on to assimilate more learning at the next higher level. No need to waste time in belaboring the obvious! People might accuse Walsh of so marshalling his facts as to produce an intended result—the glory of the Catholic Church—or chide him for not turning his talents to producing a work replete with the necessary reference to sources and authorities, methodical in arrangement, and on the academic plane rather than on that of the popular lecture platform.[97] But they could never charge him with seeking to influence his fellowmen by pronouncing judgments on the basis of non-existent historical data. He might fail to employ the accepted scientific method in presenting his facts, but he had the scholar's respect for the facts.[98]

[96] Here Walsh must surmise the exact date, since Peggy herself like most of her Irish contemporaries would be quite hazy on such things as one's birth date and one's length of years away from the old world. But the evidence is clear that it was well before the great onslaught of immigration which occurred in the 1840's.

[97] In reviewing *Makers of Modern Medicine* one Catholic source noted that "only a book of this type can combat that of scholars like White and such a book the Doctor can write if he is willing to devote to it the necessary time and labor." *Catholic World,* LXXXVII (September, 1908), 830-832.

[98] It is now conceded that White was not concerned either with objectivity or the scientific method as applied to the study of history. He was frankly out to

The true measure of Walsh's achievement, then, lies not so much in what he said or wrote, and this is not to belittle his efforts, as it is found in the example he set of indefatigable labor in the cause of truth. Though he did not win the kind of recognition which one might suppose his talents should have entitled him, it must have been a consolation to know that he was held in high admiration by some of the most thoughtful men in the country. As Abraham Flexner put it in an exchange on the merits of the elective system which passed between them in December, 1930: "I deeply appreciate your kind letter . . . for I value highly the approbation of a scholar and scientist who really knows what a university is . . ." And again a few months later in mailing him the first bulletin of the new Institute of Advanced Study, Flexner wrote that he should express himself freely on its contents, ". . . for I value highly your wisdom, knowledge and friendship."[99]

James Walsh never allowed frustration to embitter his life. He had too much good humor in his homely makeup for that. Here was no fanatic bent on converting the world at the stroke of a pen:

> If in some things I dissent from others, whose wit, industry, diligence and judgment I look up at and admire, let me not therefore hear presently of ingratitude and rashness. For I thank those that have taught me and will ever; but yet dare not think the scope of their labor and inquiry was to envy their posterity what they also could add and find out. If I err, pardon me. I do not desire to be equal with those that went before; but to have my reasons examined with theirs, and so much faith to be given them, or me, as those shall evict. I am neither author nor fautor of any sect. I will have no man addict himself to me; but if I have anything right, defend it as Truth's not mine, save as it conduceth to a common good. It profits not me to have any man fence or fight for me, to follow or take my part. Stand for Truth and 'tis enough.[100]

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mould the opinions of his students and to inspire them by means of the lessons of history to think upon the great political problems of the time. Ruth Bordin, "Andrew Dickson White, Teacher of History," *Michigan Historical Collections* (Ann Arbor, 1958), p. 15.

[99] Flexner to Walsh, December 22, 1930; February 21, 1931.

[100] These are words prefixed by Walsh to *Makers of Modern Medicine*, p. vi, to express his purpose in publishing the book. He did not cite his source.

POVERTY IN THE ORDER OF PREACHERS

By
William A. Hinnebusch*

Poverty, one of the three traditional vows of religion, was an integral part of the Dominican religious life. It remains so at the present day. The most recent revision of the *Constitutions* (1932) lists it as one of the things that cannot be surrendered or substantially changed without jeopardizing the purpose of the order. Dominican history bears out the wisdom of this remark. When the friars held poverty in honor the order achieved an eminence that was almost unrivalled; when they disregarded it the order stagnated. All monks cultivated individual poverty, even when their order or monastery owned extensive possessions. But it was the mendicants who first joined poverty to the apostolate and extended its purpose beyond the personal sanctification of the individual religious; even among the mendicants there were different ways of looking at it. Francis saw one thing, Dominic another. Dominic loved poverty deeply. It nourished his own interior life and brought him into conformity with the poor Christ, his Divine Master. It freed him from worldly cares and allowed him to give himself completely to the salvation of souls. It gave concrete example of true values to a new society, built on an expanding economy, tempted to overvalue wealth and material prosperity. The Dominican Order, begun in the well-favored lands of southern France, completed its organization in the midst of the prosperous civilization of Lombardy. Little wonder that Dominic incorporated a strict poverty in the scheme of his order.

Dominic's love of poverty had a long history.[1] Poverty was in the air when he began his apostolate in 1206. It had a lineage that carried back through the apostolic movement of the twelfth century and the Gregorian Reform to the days of the apostles and the primitive Church. The desire to imitate the apostles in the following of

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[1] On Dominican poverty, cf. H. C. Lambermond, *Der Armutsgedanke des hl. Dominikus und seines Ordens* (Zwolle, 1926). Berthold Altaner, "Der Armutsgedanke beim hl. Dominikus," *Theologie und Glaube*, XI (1919), 404-17; "Zur Beurteilung der Persönlichkeit und der Entwicklung der Ordensidee des hl.

Christ impregnated Christendom during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The ideal expressed itself in a variety of ways. The canons regular (though they fell short of the full realization of this ideal) found perfect imitation of Christ and the apostles in the blending of three elements: the contemplative life, evangelical poverty practiced in common, and the ministry for souls.

Besides the canons, many of the clergy and laity from all social strata aspired to return to the evangelical life of the primitive Church, a life characterized by poverty in common and austerity. Under the leadership of the itinerant preachers of the twelfth century, one segment of this movement formed itself into religious societies practicing the poverty of the common life. Another segment, impatient of control, lapsed into schism or fell into heresy, notably the Waldenses, Humiliati, and those who drifted into Albigensianism. The heretics claimed that imitation of the apostles conferred of itself the right to preach and exercise the pastoral ministry. The canons-regular and the itinerant preachers, on the other hand, correctly recognized that the office of preaching, though mightily supported by the apostolic life, demanded clerical status and an official mission for its exercise.[2]

St. Dominic inherited all these trends.[3] As a member of the cathedral chapter of Osma, he was most powerfully influenced by the canons regular and already lived the life of poverty in common. Nor was he insensitive to the influence of the other advocates, Catholic and heretical, of the apostolic life. Dominic's thinking about poverty entered a new stage of development in 1206 when he began his apostolate in southern France. For the next decade his poverty was not only

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Dominikus," *Zeitschr. f. Kirchegesch.* XLVI (1927), 403-406 (criticism of Heribert C. Scheeben's views, *Der heilige Dominikus* [Freiburg, 1927], pp. 141-45). Ralph F. Bennett (*The Early Dominicans* [Cambridge, 1937], chap. III) lays too much stress on Dominican poverty as a means. He advances the erroneous opinion that Dominican poverty developed only after the death of Dominic (pp. 46-49).

[2] Cf. Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Historische Studien, 267. Berlin, 1937), pp. 13-50, 157-69. Pierre Mandonnet-M. H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominique, l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1938), II, 22-48, 163-92. C. Dereine, "Chanoines," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XII (1953), 356-57, 377-78, 386-90. J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 26-39. Antoine Dondaine, "Aux origines du valdéisme. Une profession de foi de Valdès," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, XVI (1946), 191-235.

[3] Cf. M. H. Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1958), I, 91-98.

an ascetic ideal that conformed him to Christ but was also militant, making him a soldier whose life preached by deeds as well as by word. It was the poverty commanded by Christ when He sent the apostles out to preach: "Do not keep gold, or silver, or money in your girdles, nor wallet for your journey nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor staff; for the laborer deserves his living."[4] Dominic and his companions travelled on foot, penniless and poorly clothed. They begged their food and lodging.[5] It was the method of preaching suggested by Diego d'Acebès, Bishop of Osma, when he and Dominic met the papal legates that year at Montpellier. He urged them to put aside other labors,

> to toil more ardently at preaching and, in order to be able to stop the mouths of the wicked, to go forth in humility, to do and to teach according to the example of the loving Master, to travel on foot without gold and silver, following the practice of the apostles.[6]

When Dominic and his associates rested from their preaching tours, they received sustenance from the possessions and revenues shared in common with the sisters founded by him at Prouille.[7] At this point no religious order existed. The preachers had no corporate, organized existence. They were a group of apostles pursuing an identical end under the moral leadership of Dominic but were "not bound to him by obedience."[8] Jordan of Saxony described the situation as it existed in 1214:

> For the Order of Preachers had not been founded yet, and nothing had taken place but discussion about the founding of an Order, although he devoted himself to the preaching office to the best of his ability. And that

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[4] *Matt.*, X, 9-10; *Luke*, X, 1.

[5] Cf. Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, XXVI (Hanover, 1882), 271. *Petri vallium Sarnarii monachi historia Albigensis*, ed. P. Guebin-E. Lyon (Société de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1926), no. 21, cf. no. 47.

[6] *Petri vallium Sarnarii hist. Alb.*, no. 21.

[7] Cf. M. H. Laurent, *Monumenta historica s.p.n. Dominici* (Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum [abbrev. MOPH]), XV. Paris, 1933), no. 5-9, 12-19, 21-23, 25-40, 42-53, 56-57, cf. no. 62; no. 4, 11, 58, are inauthentic, cf. Raymond Loenertz, "Archives de Prouille," *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum* (abbrev. AFP), XXIV (1954), 42-44, 46-47; also no. 24, 41 are inauthentic, cf. Vladimir Koudelka, "Notes sur le cartulaire de s. Dominique," AFP, XXVIII (1958), 106-109.

[8] Jordan of Saxony *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Heribert C. Scheeben (MOPH, XVI. Rome, 1935), no. 31.

constitution was not observed which was later on enacted, that it was forbidden to receive possessions or to keep those already received.[9]

Yet from the moment when Dominic and the preachers began to discuss the foundation of an order, they were already practicing an austere form of community poverty. At the new preaching center of Fanjeaux, established in 1214, they had two sources of revenue: rents given by Simon de Montfort from the fortified town of Casseneuil (though there is some doubt whether they were able to collect them), and tithes from the church of Fanjeaux, accruing to Dominic as titular rector. Jordan of Saxony stated that they used these revenues sparingly, handing over the surplus to the sisters at Prouille.[10] A charter of Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, signing over to the sisters tithes at Fanjeaux at the wish and consent of Dominic, substantiates this.[11]

The thought of founding a preaching order raised novel problems. It was one thing to apply stringent poverty to itinerant preaching; it was quite another to extend it to the entire scope of the religious life. Dominic had already travelled beyond the range of traditional religious poverty. Poverty in his order would have a three-fold scope: apostolic, ascetic, and practical. His men would be fundamentally apostolic, but they would learn the truth in silent study and contemplation. They would then preach it. A regime of poverty in imitation of the apostles would create the best atmosphere for contemplation and study by disengaging the friar from secular concerns. It would be the best adjunct to preaching, by pointing to evangelical lives that matched apostolic doctrine. The ascetic purpose would demand from the friars a mortified life in imitation of the poor Christ and force on them the necessity of complete dependence on divine Providence. The practical consideration would require that student and preaching friars be left free for their primary duties.[12] Manual labor and management of estates and revenues could not be allowed to encroach on their time.

[9] *Ibid.*, no. 37.

[10] *Ibid.*, no. 37. Cf. Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 54 *(fratris Dominici, capellani Fanojovis)*. For a commentary on the rents of Casseneuil and doubt as to their collection, cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, I, 322 n. 247, 344 n. 69; II, 16.

[11] Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 54, 55 (the same document; cf. Loenertz, AFP, XXIV, 20 no. 18. Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 58 is apparently inauthentic; cf. Loenertz, *ibid.*, pp. 46-47. The tithes are also listed in the bull of Oct., 1215 (Laur., *Mon.*, no. 62; cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, I, 344 n. 69).

[12] Altaner ("Der Armutsgedanke," pp. 416-17) holds that Dominic, developing his ideas independently, gave poverty a different emphasis than Francis. For

Dominic's problem was not the simple one of St. Francis whose early friars lived in hermitages and miniature priories. Dominic envisaged organized communities of clerical religious—mature friars fully trained, student friars preparing for the apostolate. It is a heavy responsibility to feed and clothe a community, especially when it contains young religious under training. How could such a community support a regime of absolute poverty? Moreover, the law of the Church frowned on a clergy that was unsupported. A preaching order had to be an order of priests. A clerical, religious life with alms alone as its economic base was entirely new. Ancient law (first established at Chalcedon in 451 and revived at the Third Lateran Council in 1179) forbade bishops to ordain anyone to sacred orders who did not have a guaranteed means of support—in canonical parlance, a "title." Innocent III had recently extended this prohibition to include subdeacons.[13] In 1205 he considered it a dishonor to the clerical state for a clergyman to be obliged to live on charity.[14] In 1206 the itinerant poverty of preachers, suggested by Bishop Diego, excited the misgivings of the papal legates.[15] These were practical and legal considerations that prevented Dominic from taking hasty steps. In 1215 he could not have foreseen all the problems and their solutions. There was a period of trial from 1215 to 1220. As a wise legislator, he framed laws when his theories had been tested by experience and approved by higher authority.

Dominic's thoughts in the matter of poverty are clear from the course of events. From the foundation of the order in 1215 until the first general chapter in 1220 there were steady strides toward absolute poverty, depending on neither rents nor property. We shall review them briefly. In May, 1215, at the partition of the Seila estates in Toulouse, the order, receiving the inheritance of Peter Seila, one of

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him it was an instrument of the apostolate, freeing the friars for the ministry, rather than a means of achieving personal holiness. While there is truth in this judgment, it obscures Dominic's ascetic ideal. On the other hand, for Francis poverty was not merely a personal matter; it was also an apostolate demonstrating to the world the ideal following of Christ.

[13] Canons 6 and 5 respectively, *Corpus iuris canonici*, C. 16, X, *de praeb.*, III, 5. Henry J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis, 1937), pp. 95, 220, cf. commentary, pp. 95-96.

[14] *Innocenti III Romani pontif. regestorum sive litterarum, liber quintus*, Minge, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXV, col. 682 (to Raymond of Rabestens, former bishop of Toulouse).

[15] Laurent, *Monumenta*, no. 3.

its first members, accepted no immovable property apart from the houses it put to immediate use.[16] The charter of Bishop Fulk, approving the order in June, recognized the poverty of the friars and granted an alms from diocesan tithes reserved for the poor.[17] In October of the same year, Dominic separated the economic regime of Prouille from the rest of the order by getting papal confirmation of the properties held by the brothers and sisters there.[18] Then followed the decision of the formative chapter in 1216, the assembly presided over by St. Dominic that chose the *Rule of St. Augustine* as the basis of the order's religious life and formulated the *Book of Customs*. In addition to the traditional individual poverty of religious, the chapter decided not to hold landed possessions but still to retain rents.[19] This decision reflected the actual state of affairs. All landed possessions demanding administration or cultivation belonged to Prouille. The bull of papal confirmation granted to the order in December, 1216, (apart from Prouille and its possessions) listed only rents and ecclesiastical properties—four churches: St. Romanus, Prouille, St. Mary of Lescure, and Holy Trinity of Loubens; the hospice of Arnold Bernard (housing a sisterhood of penitents founded by Dominic); and two sources of rent, Casseneuil and the diocesan tithes in Toulouse.[20]

Dominican corporate poverty never excluded the ownership of churches, priories, and the properties on which these stood.[21] This

[16] *Ibid.*, no. 61.

[17] *Ibid.*, no. 60.

[18] *Ibid.*, no. 62. The possessions are confirmed to the brothers and nuns at Prouille. Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 67.

[19] Jordan, *Libellus*, no. 42. *Altaner* ("Der Armutsgedanke," pp. 409-12) maintains that the proposal not to hold possessions did not become effective until 1220, through the action of the first general chapter. However, our account shows that apart from Prouille and its possessions the order actually held no properties after 1216.

[20] Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 74. Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 66-67, and "Fondation, approbation, confirmation de l'ordre des Prêcheurs," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLVII (1952), 589-91. In 1217 Prouille and the friars in Toulouse held the church of St. Martin in Limoux jointly (Laur., *Mon.*, no. 80).

[21] Cf. W. A. Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers* (Institutum hist. ff. Praed.: Dissertationes historicae, 14. Rome, 1951), pp. 232-33. Failure to take this ownership into account vitiates the treatment of Dominican poverty by Altaner, "Der Armutsgedanke," pp. 407-10; Lambermond, *Der Armutsgedanke*, pp. 10-15; Bennett, *Early Dominicans*, pp. 35-51. The latter (pp. 176-77) errs, holding that Dominicans possessed properties *procul a domo;* cf. Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-36.

fact explains apparent contradictions in the practice of poverty between 1216 and 1220—the buying and selling of properties in Toulouse, Bologna, and elsewhere to round out the priory precincts and to clear them of houses and tenants,[22] and the protection extended in papal bulls and by Simon de Montfort to Dominican properties.[23] Also, the foundation at Prouille must be considered apart, since the strictly enclosed life of the nuns demanded endowments and fixed incomes. Friars remained there to care for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the nuns.

Priories founded after 1216 obeyed the decisions of the formative chapter. At Paris the community of thirty or more friars enjoyed a rent but apparently eked out the rest of their subsistence from alms.[24] At Mascarella, the first foundation in Bologna, the order weathered days of extreme poverty;[25] after the friars moved to St. Nicholas a large community lived without property or rents. There is no trace of possessions or rents at Segovia.[26] Dominic provisionally accepted houses at Brihuega in Spain either for the rents or with the intention of making a foundation.[27] In May, 1219, the Madrid friars accepted a rural estate. Probably they held this for the sisters, who were seeking to establish a monastry, and in the following year the friars turned over priory and property to them.[28]

Meanwhile, Dominic threw the entire weight of his influence toward the adoption of absolute poverty. His personal life since 1206, and the experiences of the order since 1216, urged him toward a poverty that relied on divine Providence, the good-will offerings of the faithful, and the quest for alms. He knew from personal trial how effective an instrument of the apostolate poverty was. The stream of recruits

22 Cf. Laurent, *Monumenta,* no. 71, 73 (Toulouse), 115, 116, 126, 150 (Bologna), 106, 131 (Siena), 118 (Milan), 139 (Paris), 145 (Brescia), 151 (Florence). The churches of Fanjeaux and Limoux were held by Prouille, *ibid.*, no. 134, 138, 152, 80, 89, 94. For Bologna, cf. also, Thomas M. Mamachi, *Annales ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1756), I, app., pp. 375-76 (1221); *Analecta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* (abbrev. AOP), IV (1899-1900), 169 n. 1 (1223), 170 n. 3 (1224).

23 Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 62, 86 (Prouille), 74, 82.

24 Jordan, *Libellus,* no. 59. Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 92.

25 *Ibid.*, no. 55.

26 Cf. *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum Gerardi de Fracheto,* ed. B. Reichert (MOPH, I. Rome, 1896), pp. 70-71.

27 Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 383-85 (document), cf. 119-22.

28 Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 95.

who had joined the order in Paris and Bologna proved that it was attractive to generous souls who sought to follow Christ. Nevertheless, there appears to have been some reluctance on the part of the friars. In Paris, Prior Matthew of France had introduced various mitigations (required by diocesan statutes[29] and permissible with dispensation) such as the use of horses and the carrying of money when travelling.[30] At Bologna, as we shall see, the community was tempted, but prevented by Dominic from accepting landed property. Gradually Dominic educated his sons, first by example, then by words. The canonization witnesses were unanimous in describing his poverty. They stressed three points: his personal poverty, his constant urging that the brethren love and practice it, his desire that the order observe it through the entire range of its life.

Since 1206 Dominic's personal poverty had been most austere and it continued so after he founded the order. A computation of his travelling times during the visitation of 1218-1219 to Spain and France, and incidents that occurred during these journeys indicate that he never deviated from his earlier practices. He always went on foot, spent the night in churches, and carried no money or provisions.[31] Even when travelling he fasted every Friday and continuously from September 14 to Easter. He begged his food from door to door and was satisfied with what they gave him, rejoicing when he was poorly provided for.[32] He wanted his friars also to depend on the bounty of divine Providence. When he dispersed them in 1217 he sent them to their destinations on foot, without expense money. He asked this of them even though the order's statutes on poverty were not yet framed and the charter of the Bishop of Toulouse, requiring poverty of life, did not prevail beyond the diocese.[33]

The founder extended these stringent ideas of poverty to the corporate life of his order. At Bologna the friars, riding on the wave of

[29] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova collectio*, XXII, 828E, 908 (Paris, 1213, Rouen, 1214, commanding canons to give their members horses and expense money when travelling).

[30] *Acta canonizationis S. Dominici*, ed. A. Walz (MOPH, XVI. Rome, 1935), p. 144, lines 16-17. Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 149 n. 50. Mandonnet-Vicaire, *Dominique*, II, 215 n. 25.

[31] *Vitae fratrum*, pp. 72, 74-75. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 189 n. 75, cf. pp. 131 n. 124, p. 138 n. 17.

[32] *Acta canonizationis*, pp. 125 no. 4, 161:21-162:3 (the numeral following the colon indicates the line.)

[33] Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 96-98.

great popularity, accepted the gift of some landed property.[34] The contract was all drawn up, but Dominic rescinded it as soon as he heard of it. During the canonization process Rudolph of Faenza, the procurator at Bologna, reported the incident and described Dominic's reaction. His report gives in substance what all the witnesses repeat on these aspects of poverty. He said:

> He did not want them to have these or any other possessions but to live solely on alms, and sparingly, for if they had enough in the house to enable them to last the day, he did not wish them to accept anything or to send anyone out after alms. And he wanted them to have small buildings and cheap clothes. And even in church he did not want silks to be used, but the vestments were to be of coarse cloth. He also said that he did not wish the friars to become involved in temporal matters, or in putting up a building, or in discussions of temporal business, except for those brethren to whom the administration of the house was entrusted. He wanted the rest to be ever intent upon reading, praying, or preaching. And if he knew any friar to be well fitted for preaching, he wanted no other duty to be imposed on him.[35]

The insistence with which one witness after the other ascribed these sentiments to Dominic leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that he practiced the most abject poverty and continuously drummed its lessons into the minds of his sons. He took every occasion to do so, e.g., once when Procurator Rudolph put out a special dish for the brethren, Dominic called him aside and whispered to him: "You are ruining the brethren by giving them these delicacies."[36]

At Bologna they collected only enough for the day. As a result the house often ran short of bread, wine, or other food. Then Rudolph would go to Dominic and report: "We have no bread or wine." The answer was, "Go and pray, for the Lord will provide." So Rudolph would go to church, and often Dominic would join him. "And God did provide," he continues, "for they always had enough to eat. And sometimes he would set the scant food they had on the

[34] *Acta canonizationis*, p. 150:12.

[35] *Acta canon.*, pp. 150-51 no. 32; cf. p. 137:6, 144:18-20, 145:23, 156:24-157, 161:13, 166:9, 183:5-10, also the other Toulouse witnesses, pp. 177 seq. Jordan, *Libellus*, no. 108. Bl. Cecilia also notes that Dominic would not send friars for alms when there was sufficient food for the day in the priory (*Miracula b. Dominici*, ed. A. Walz in *Miscellanea Pio Paschini*, vol. I [Rome, 1948], 311:16 no. 3).

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 149:13.

table, at Dominic's command, and the Lord would supply their need."[37] Buonviso, who followed Rudolph as procurator, was an eyewitness to a similar marvel:

> On a certain fast day the food in the refectory ran out. Then Brother Dominic signaled that food should be set before the brethren. I told him that there was none there. Then with a cheerful countenance, Brother Dominic raised his hands, and praised and blessed the Lord. At once a pair of men came in carrying baskets, one of bread and the other of dried figs, so that the brethren had plenty.[38]

Constantine of Orvieto in his life of the founder transferred this event to San Sisto Priory in Rome where the friars experienced like shortages. In his version, two youths appeared, carrying loaves of bread. Starting with the youngest on either side, they placed a loaf before him, ending with St. Dominic.[39] This is the origin of the 700-year custom observed in Dominican refectories of beginning the serving with the youngest members of the community.

There is another incident that illustrates Dominic's love of poverty. At a time when he was away from Bologna, Rudolph began to raise the ceilings of the cells about a foot. When Dominic returned and saw what was happening he reproached Rudolph and the brethren over and over: "Do you want so quickly to give up poverty and to put up great palaces?" Work stopped at once and the cells remained as they were as long as Dominic lived.[40] This episode manifests his insight into the human heart. The slight improvement in the cells was an entering wedge; if driven farther, it would destroy the poverty of the order. Dominic's insistence also bore fruit at Paris during May, 1220, when the friars surrendered their rents[41] in anticipation of the work of the first general chapter.

The example and exhortation of Dominic were seconded by Pope Honorius III. Several papal letters of December, 1219, use language

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 149:11-21.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 141:3-11.

[39] Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda s. Dominici*, ed. H. S. Scheeben (MOPH, XVI. Rome, 1935), no. 37. Bl. Cecilia (*Miracula*, pp. 309-11 no. 3) elaborates the account further.

[40] *Acta canon.*, p. 157:5-14.

[41] Laurent, *Monumenta*, no. 11, 114. The date is established by Koudelka, AFP, XXVIII (1958), 113-14. The friars held them for just a year, cf. *ibid.*, no. 92. F. Balme-P. Lelaidier, *Cartulaire de Saint Dominique* (Paris, 1897), III, 36 n. 2, 80 n. *Acta canon.*, p. 144:21.

indicating that Dominic had decided upon, and the pope had approved, absolute poverty for his order. When compared with earlier letters they speak a more decisive language and point to sterner realities. Three years before, Honorius exhorted the friars to preach in season and out of season and to accept the burdens inherent in their ministry in "satisfaction for their sins."[42] There is no reference to poverty. A month later he wrote to the universal hierarchy of the Church recommending "the friars of the Order of Preachers, whose useful ministry and religious institute we believe is pleasing to God." He asked the archbishops and bishops to aid them in their necessities, for "they have given their preference to the title of poverty."[43] But this was a poverty that had not yet dug to the roots. The friars still permitted themselves the use of rents and fixed alms.

The new documents envisioned something more austere. The friars were to preach in absolute poverty. The most important of these letters is the *Cum spiritus fervore* issued on December 12, 1219. Addressing himself "to the prior and brothers of the Order of Preachers," Honorius III noted that they had "cast off the burdens of worldly riches" and had "resolved to undertake the office of preaching for the salvation of others in the lowliness of voluntary poverty." He expected great fruit from this ministry, but he knew, too, its labor and perils. To strengthen them he spoke words of encouragement and raised the privation and labor of preaching in mendicant poverty to the level of the sacramentals when he said ". . . the privations and labors which you are about to undergo in carrying out this kind of duty, we enjoin upon you as a way of atoning for your sins."[44] In this brief letter the pope recognized a poverty that had gone into the depths. In 1217 the friars "have given their preference to the 'title of poverty.' " In 1219 they have "cast off the burdens of worldly riches," and have undertaken "the office of preaching . . . in the lowliness of voluntary poverty." This is a difference. The new absolute poverty was soon to be called technically "mendicant poverty." Vicaire, with reason, styles this papal letter "the bull of mendicancy."[45] Five days before it was issued Honorius had already begun to speak of mendicant poverty in the first of new bulls of recommendation:

[42] Laurent, *Monumenta,* no. 77.
[43] *Ibid.,* no. 84.
[44] *Ibid.,* no. 102.
[45] *Hist.,* II, 175-176.

The prior and the friars of the Order of Preachers . . . unceasingly sow their grain, the word of their preaching. They cast aside the burdens of earthly riches that they may hasten more freely through the field of this world, which the briars of vice cover now more than ever. They go about in the lowliness of voluntary poverty and, "weeping, they sow their seeds."[46]

Other letters carry a phrase designed to remove the temptations of cupidity from the path of the friars; e.g., "if any shall preach in your diocese for the sake of gaining money, claiming to be members of the Order of Preachers . . . you shall arrest and condemn them as impostors."[47]

Running parallel to these bulls was a series of letters of gratitude sent by Honorius to the Benedictines of Notre Dame des Champs in Paris, to the University, to the people of Madrid and Segovia, to the chief magistrate (the *podestà*) of Bologna, thanking them for the aid and protection they had given to the friars. He requested them to continue "to stretch out to them the right hand of benevolence," and "aid them in their necessities by your generous gifts and alms."[48] Under a stricter regime of poverty the friars would need these good offices even more urgently in the future than in the past.

Meanwhile, St. Dominic had founded a priory in Rome in connection with the monastery of San Sisto.[49] The friars were to assume the temporal and spiritual care of the nuns whom he would shortly transfer there from several older, decadent Roman monasteries,[50] but an apostolate in the city and its environs also lay open to them. The founder established a regime of absolute poverty at the priory, and the community relied so much on alms that any failure of generosity among the people saw the friars going hungry.

We can imagine their consternation when a fall of masonry crushed one of the laborers who was engaged in preparing the monastery for

[46] E.g., Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 103: types II and IV as classified by Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 379 no. 14.

[47] AOP, III (1897-98), 308 no. 68 (Dec. 11, 1219), cf. Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 129. *Archiv der deutschen Dominikaner*, II (Cologne, 1939), 170 (Dec. 13, 1219), cf. Laur., *Mon.*, no. 112. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 380 no. 15.

[48] Laurent, *Mon.*, no. 107, 107b, 108, 109, 110 (from Feb. 27-Mar. 24, 1220).

[49] The foundation at this time is suggested by the fact that Dominic brought three companions with him: Frogier of Penna, Buonviso of Piacenza, and William of Montferrat (*Acta cannon.*, pp. 165:8, 139:124, 134:12). Vicaire believes Frogier was made superior at San Sisto (*Hist.*, II, 188 n. 71).

[50] Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 182-88, 278-97.

the nuns. The friars mourned the workman, but they likewise saw at once that the accident might work them great harm. People might take it as a bad omen, the more so since "the character of the Order was yet little known." Starvation was just around the corner for the friars. But great was their relief when Dominic raised the man back to life and health.[51] Hunger again stalked the community when James of Melle, a Roman friar who was procurator, lay at death's door. He had just received the last rites and the friars stood about his bed to speed his departing soul. Here again their grief was not unalloyed. "They were not a little sad at the loss of a friar so necessary for them at that time, since they had no other brother who was so well known in Rome." As in the case of the workman, Dominic rescued them from their plight. He brought James back to health and restored him to his office.[52] The mixed joy of the brethren is explained by Constantine of Orvieto, who heard the incident from James himself. The brethren, he said, frequently went hungry in those days. Passing from door to door in the customary manner for alms, they found many priests and Levites but few good Samaritans. "Often they suffered a great want of necessities because the Order was not yet known among the people."[53]

The general chapter of 1220 brought Dominic's dreams regarding poverty to full realization. It pledged the order to absolute, mendicant poverty. This was accomplished in a single, brief sentence: "Possessions and rents are not to be accepted under any circumstances."[54] This was a step far beyond that taken by the formative chapter of 1216 which had established the traditional poverty of the individual religious. The *Book of Customs* called for poor clothing and beds, penitential diet, and the common life. Indeed, even then Dominic and the friars envisioned something more than this. They aimed at full corporate poverty but the time was not yet ripe for the final step. The chapter contented itself with the decision "not to own possessions so

[51] Constantine of Orvieto, *Legenda*, no. 36. Cf. Jordan, *Libellus*, no. 126.

[52] *Ibid.*, no. 39.

[53] *Ibid.*, no. 37, cf. 38.

[54] *Constitutiones primitivae ord. Praedicatorum*, Distinctio II, cap. 26, ed. Heinrich Denifle, "Die Constitutionem des Predigerordens," *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I (Berlin, 1885), 222. *Acta canonizationis*, pp. 157 : 16, 166 : 16. Denifle erroneously dated this text of the Constitutions to 1228. The first distinction dates from 1216, the core of the second distinction from 1220.

that concern for temporal things might not impede the preaching ministry. They decided for the time being to retain only rents."[55] This was already a great advance over the poverty of "possessionate" orders that owned farms, estates, and flocks. Also at that time, authorized by Bishop Fulk's charter approving the order, the friars practiced evangelical poverty when they preached. They went two by two, on foot, penniless, begging their bread.

The chapter of 1220 capped the work of 1216. In the *Institutions*, which it joined to the *Book of Customs*, it laid down the rule for the order's preachers. Not only the bishop's charter but the law of the order now obliged them to imitate the life of the apostles. They were to travel in pairs when they went out to preach or for any other purpose. "They shall neither accept nor carry gold, silver, money and gifts, except for food and clothing and necessary garments and books."[56] They were to go on foot, for it was a fault to go on horseback.[57]

The chapter took the ultimate step when it gave up possessions as well as rents. It closed off all fixed income, all regular economic resources and placed the order in full reliance on divine Providence. Not only were fixed resources excluded, but the friars were forbidden to engage in any other occupations beyond prayer, preaching, and study: "Let all who are assigned to the preaching office or to study have no care or management of temporal affairs, so that they can carry out more freely and ably the spiritual ministry enjoined upon them."[58] This threw the order completely on the mercy of their fellowmen. Charity became the sole prop of their economic existence and the quest for alms in kind became a necessity. Even here Dominic's poverty was extreme. He wanted the friars "to live solely on alms, and sparingly, for if they had enough in the house to enable them to last the day, he did not want them to accept anything or to send anyone out after alms."[59]

Once the chapter was over, it remained only to implement its decisions. Paris, Bologna, and San Sisto were already pledged to mendicant poverty. Following suit, the Madrid Dominicans sur-

[55] Jordan, *Libellus*, no. 42.
[56] *Const. prim.*, D. II, cap. 31, ALKG, I, 223-24.
[57] *Ibid.*, Dist. I, cap. 22, ALKG, I, 208, cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 222 n. 69.
[58] *Ibid.*, D. II, cap. 31, ALKG, I, 224.
[59] *Acta canonizationis*, p. 150:18-20, no. 32, cf. pp. 156:26-157, 161:22-162:3, 166:16.

rendered their real estate and their priory to the sisters.[60] At Toulouse the order returned several churches to the diocese and made over its rents from Cassenueil to Prouille.[61] The tithe granted by Bishop Fulk in 1215 became the subject of an agreement. When both men met in Rome in April, 1221, Dominic surrendered the tithe and Fulk gave the order possession of the church at Fanjeaux. A phrase in the agreement speaks of the prior of Fanjeaux, indicating that Dominic intended to establish a priory there.[62] When this did not materialize the order deeded the church to Prouille in 1227,[63] and Prouille had enjoyed its tithes since 1215.[64]

Franciscan historians have maintained that Dominic learned his poverty from St. Francis.[65] It would be pleasing if we could prove this reliance of one saint on another,[66] but at most we can show with certainty only one meeting of the two founders, at the home of Cardinal Hugolino. At the end of the visit St. Dominic, according to the account, begged St. Francis for his cord as a keepsake. Obtaining it in spite of the reluctance of Francis, he girded himself with it under-

[60] *Annalium ord. Praed. continuatio,* ed. H. D. Christianopuolo, AOP, I (1893-94), 513. Letter of St. Dominic to the nuns, Balme, *Cartulaire,* III, 79. Vicaire, *Hist.,* II, 122-24.

[61] Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.,* II, 232 nn. 100-101.

[62] Laurent, *Monumenta.,* no. 134: *vel a priore in dicta ecclesia a dicto magistro instituto.* Cf. no. 138.

[63] Jean Guiraud, *Cartulaire de N. D. de Prouille* (Paris, 1907), II, no. 332.

[64] Laurent, *Monumenta,* no. 54, 62.

[65] Angelus Clarenus, O.F.M., in a letter written after 1318, seems to be the first to state this dependence categorically (*Archiv f. Litt. und Kirchengesch.* I, 559). It is also held by Luke Wadding (d. 1657), *Annales Minorum* (ed. Quaracchi, 1931), I, ad ann. 1219 no. 1-12; Paul Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (Paris, 1894), pp. 245-52; H. Fischer, *Der hl. Franz v. A. während der Jahre 1219-1221*) (Freiburger hist. Studien, Fribourg i. S., 1907), pp. 83-108; and others.

[66] Dominicans, following J. Quetif-J. Echard, *Scriptores ord. frat. Praed.* (Paris, 1719), I, 77-81, denied the dependence, e.g., Antoninus Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, 1903), I, 71 *seq.* B. Altaner ("Die Beziehungen des hl. Dominikus zum hl. Franz v. A.," *Franziskanische Studien,* IX [1922], 23-28, and "Der Armutsgedanke," pp. 404-406). On pages 416-17, he maintains that Dominican poverty had a different character than the Franciscan and that Franciscan poverty ultimately approached the median poverty of the Dominicans. Lambermond (*Armutsgedanke,* pp. 18-21) in general follows Altaner. Cf. Jean Guiraud, "S. Dominique a-t-il copié s. François," *Questions d'hist. et d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1906), pp. 153 *seq.* Heribert C. Scheeben (*Der. hl. Dominikus* [Freiburg i. B., 1927], pp. 115-16, 124-25, cf. 149) sees a dependence of Dominic on the Waldenses.

neath his habit, saying to Francis, "Brother Francis, I could wish that your Order and mine would become one and we live in the Church in a similar way." After Francis had left, he remarked to the bystanders, "In truth I say to you, other religious should imitate this holy man Francis, so great is the perfection of his sanctity."[67]

Franciscan scholars conclude from this conversation that it was poverty that attracted Dominic. Since he could not realize his wish to unite the orders, they say, he adopted evangelical poverty bringing his order into closer conformity to the Franciscan. It is interesting to note, however, that during the interview Cardinal Hugolino considered the Dominicans exponents of poverty equal to the Franciscans. Otherwise his remarks to Francis and Dominic lose meaning: "In the early Church the pastors of the Church were poor and were men afire with charity instead of cupidity. Why don't we make bishops and prelates, he said, from your brethren, who in teaching and example are superior to others?" Also, the chronology of all three persons involved enables us to place the meeting only in 1221, a full year after Dominic had completed the order's structure of poverty at the first general chapter.[68]

In addition to the meeting in the home of Cardinal Hugolino, *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* give an account of Dominic's visit to a Franciscan chapter at Portiuncula. The poverty of the Franciscans so impressed him that he resolved to embrace evangelical poverty.[69] This account gains some support from the words of a nameless, elderly canon. In 1261 he related to John Peter Olivi that he had once heard St. Dominic say he had been present at a chapter in Assisi and this influenced him to stress poverty in his order.[70] If we grant the historicity of these accounts, they but confirm what is already admitted. There is no doubt that many influences impelled Dominic toward apostolic poverty.[71] He certainly knew the Franciscans in Italy but

[67] Thomas de Celano, *Vita secunda S. Francisci Assisiensis*, cap. 109, 110 (ed. Quaracchi, 1927), pp. 147-48, 150. *Speculum perfectionis*, cap. 43, ed. P. Sabatier (Brit. Soc. Fran. Stud., 13, Manchester, 1928), pp. 109-12.

[68] Altaner, "Beziehung," pp. 4-12, 28. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 20 n. 41. However, there is no agreement in dating this episode; cf. Bihl, *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, XVII (1924), 300-302.

[69] Trans. R. Brown (New York, 1958), chap. 18, pp. 81-82. *Actus b. Francisci et sociorum ejus*, cap. 20, ed. P. Sabatier (Paris, 1902), pp. 69-71.

[70] *Archivum Fran. hist.*, XX, 155.

[71] For a summary of the influences bearing on Dominic, cf. Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-28.

his program of poverty developed with increasing conviction from 1206 onward and was already mature before he came into Italy late in 1215. A few meetings with Francis[72] were not enough to produce a basic program, especially when we consider the differences of temperament, methods, and even aims of the two founders.

We have already noted the factors that influenced Dominic to embrace the ideal of preaching in evangelical poverty in 1206. When he came to apply poverty to a religious community, the *Constitutions* and practices of the Order of Grandmont seem to have guided him. Grandmont was strong in southern France. It was an order of priests. Its poverty forbade the enjoyment of landed possessions, parishes, or flocks. It made the quest for alms. St. Stephen of Muret, its founder, forbade its clerical members to be occupied with anything but prayer and contemplation, prohibited the quest if there was already enough in the house to eat.[73] These were the formulas used by Dominic in 1220, except that he applied them to a preaching order. He was even anxious to go a step further than the other members of the general chapter. Imitating Grandmont, he wished to place the lay brothers in complete charge of temporalities.[74] Here the friars balked. The similar regulation in Grandmont had caused quarrels and even riots and the spiritual and civil authorities had to step in. Dominic's love for poverty was so great that for once his practical sense was submerged.

The difference between Francis and Dominic was one of emphasis. In her *Dialogue* St. Catherine of Siena catches the spirit of each. At the same time her words about Dominic aptly summarize the work of the general chapter of 1220. It is God the Father who speaks to her:

[72] There are six accounts of reputed meetings between the two saints, cf. Altaner, "Beziehung," pp. 4-22. Only Celano's account appears acceptable. The meeting mentioned by Gerard of Frachet (*Vitae fratrum*, pp. 9-10) appears to be legendary (Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-18). Bartholomew of Trent, O.P. (1245-51), records the friendship of Francis and Dominic (B. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus, Untersuchungen und Texte* [Breslau, 1922], p. 233 no. 13 n; *Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, I [Paris, 1867], 557 no. 9).

[73] *Regula S. Stephani Muretensis . . . ord. Grandimontensis*, cap. iv, v, ix, xiii, ed. E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, III (Venice, 1783), pp. 309-11. Cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 219-21, who is the first to call attention to Grandmont.

[74] *Acta canon.*, pp. 144:22-143:2. *Regula S. Stephani*, cap. 54-55, pp. 315-16, cf. emendations to the *Rule*, p. 322 no. I-II. For the difficulties experienced by Grandmont, cf. Vicaire, *Hist.*, II, 221.

See with what perfection and love of poverty Francis ordered his ship and decked it with the pearls of virtue. He steered it in the way of lofty perfection being the first to give his Order true and holy poverty for spouse. He had chosen her for himself, embracing her lowliness . . . Poverty belonged especially to my poor man Francis who placed the principal foundation of his Order in love for this poverty and made it very strict. . . .

Now look at the ship of thy father Dominic, my beloved son. He ordered it most perfectly, wishing that his sons should with the light of science be attentive only to my honor and the salvation of souls. He made this light the principal foundation of his Order. But he was not on that account deprived of true and voluntary poverty. He had it also. To show that he had it truly and the contrary displeased him, he left his curse and mine as an heirloom to his sons, if they should hold any possessions either privately or in common, as a sign that he had chosen Queen Poverty for his spouse.[75]

St. Dominic could rest content. The chapter of 1220, with full approval of the Church, had passed into law all that he had desired in the way of poverty since he first began to preach in southern France, since he first began to think of founding an order. With St. Francis he stands as a great lover of Lady Poverty. He was the first to discover a working formula to apply strict poverty to an apostolic order of priests.

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[75] *Dialogo della divina Provvidenza*, cap. 158, ed. I. Taurisano (Florence, 1928), pp. 540-42.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

To the Other Towns: A Life of Blessed Peter Favre, First Companion of St. Ignatius. By William V. Bangert, S.J. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 331. $4.50.)

Even a veteran Jesuit will enjoy reading this book which for him will represent a review of the many labors of Blessed Peter Favre pictured against the backdrop of the first half of the sixteenth century. Ten chapters and an epilogue account for 292 pages of the text; these are followed by twenty-three pages of documentation, almost five pages of bibliography, and a little more than eight pages of index printed in two columns. Only two printing mistakes were noticed: Amadius for Amadeus (p. 14) and Estaban for Esteban (p. 46; 298, n.5).

Born in 1506 into a truly Christian home and trained from his infancy in piety and love of God, Peter soon felt himself drawn to a devout life. Responding to his desire for study in preference to becoming a shepherd like his father, Peter prevailed upon his father to send him to school when he was ten years old. In 1525 he left for the University of Paris where he became the roommate of Francis Xavier, and four years later they were joined by Ignatius Loyola, who shared the same room with them. Thus began the intimate friendship of these three men which transformed them profoundly and influenced the world beyond measure. Discovering Ignatius' plan to follow Christ in poverty and apostolic zeal, Peter decided to become a priest himself and declared himself Ignatius' first disciple. On May 30, 1534, Peter was ordained a priest, the first of the group which now numbered seven. On August 15 of the same year these seven men took their first vows without, however, thinking of founding a religious order; it was only on April 15, 1539—we are informed—that they decided to pronounce a vow of obedience to one of their own members, thus initiating a new religious order. Peter's first assignment was to Parma in Italy, and it lasted fifteen months. His next obedience took him successively to Germany, Spain, back to Germany, Belgium, Germany again, Portugal, and lastly to Spain again, whence he was summoned by Ignatius to Rome where he died on August 1, 1546, two weeks after his arrival there.

Peter's career was not marked with any sensational achievements, for he worked quietly, yet nonetheless effectively. He spent himself mostly in preaching, counseling, and giving the *Spiritual Exercises.* Though his apostolate lasted only seven years and even though it was often interrupted abruptly, still it was rich in results, the blessed fruit of his faithful obedi-

ence. Peter must be credited with breaking the ground for the successful labors of his society in Germany, for having gained Peter Canisius for the Jesuits and for the apostolic work of the Church. To afford us a glimpse of Peter's soul and its spiritual growth until it was able to "render with perfection its service for the greater glory of God" the author quotes generously from Peter's *Memorial*. This is an informative and fascinating book.

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The Cardinal de Bernis. A Biography. By Marcus Cheke. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. xiii, 310. $4.95.)

The British Minister to the Holy See, Sir Marcus Cheke, has given us in this volume a competent picture of eighteenth-century European history as the background of the life of one of its chief actors. It is a fascinating story of a man comparatively unknown in modern times who, nonetheless, played a major role in the complex diplomacy of Europe for nearly half a century. It is an "Horatio Alger" story of a penniless, frivolous French cleric who became one of the wealthiest men of his day and, at the same time, a cardinal dedicated to the welfare of the Church and the good of souls. Born in the south of France in 1715 of a family of the provincial nobility, François Joachim de Pierre, Count de Bernis, as a second son, was dedicated to the Church in his early years. Tonsured at the age of twelve, he did not receive subdiaconate until 1755; he was ordained a priest in 1758, created a cardinal in the same year, and consecrated a bishop in 1764. As a poor but socially clever abbé in the Paris of Louis XV, de Bernis attracted the interest and then the sympathy of Madame de Pompadour, the king's all-powerful mistress. Through her influence he first entered the diplomatic service of France as ambassador to Venice from 1752 to 1755. This office he filled adequately and with a display of grandeur that reflected the glory of his king. Nominated ambassador to Madrid in August, 1755, Bernis was detained in Paris to conduct the secret negotiations with Austria which effected the "diplomatic revolution" that aligned France with Austria against Great Britain and Prussia in the Seven Years War. It was natural, then, that he should be made Minister of Foreign Affairs by royal appointment of January 1, 1757. The disastrous course of the war for the French, as well as his loss of the favor of Pompadour because of his efforts to extricate France from it, led to the dismissal of Bernis by Louis and to his exile to one of his country estates on December 13, 1758. The pain of this blow was, no doubt, somewhat softened by the fact that, two months previously, he had been made a cardinal by Clement XIII.

To Bernis the exile, which lasted six years, proved a blessing in disguise. It relieved him of the great strain of public office; it provided him with leisure for reflection and with the opportunity for inner spiritual growth. Friends at the court, including even his successor in the foreign office, the Duc de Choiseul, gradually brought about his rehabilitation; he was invited to Versailles for New Year's Day of 1764 and he was, with royal approval, nominated Archbishop of Albi on July 9 and consecrated August 7. As head of one of the most important dioceses in France, Bernis proved to be an extraordinarily active and zealous pastor of souls, a capable administrator, and a respected leader in public affairs.

A major factor in the conclave that elected Clement XIV in 1769, Bernis was appointed French ambassador to Rome immediately thereafter. He fulfilled the varied functions of this office with distinction for nearly a quarter century until three years before his death on November 3, 1794. His lavish style of living (he was by now a millionaire), his generous hospitality (he entertained constantly and extensively), his international reputation (he was known all over Europe as "King of Rome"), all combined to make these years the gratifying climax of a career that had had its share of misfortune.

Bernis played a major, though somewhat reluctant, part in the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 by Clement XIV who appears in no flattering light in the affair. In the crisis of the French Revolution the cardinal proved himself a staunch royalist and a true son of the Church. He lost most of his fortune by the confiscation of church property in November, 1789, and he was dismissed as ambassador in March, 1791, for refusing to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He stayed on in Rome, in reduced circumstances and in failing health, making his last public appearance at the requiem Mass he arranged for Louis XVI on November 12, 1793; he died a year later.

Such, in barest outline, is the story told, with a wealth of colorful detail, by Marcus Cheke in a style that makes for good reading. The book has background material enough to make it intelligible to the average reader; the professional historian will not find it unrewarding. Its value is enhanced by a short bibliography and a good index.

JOSEPH H. BRADY

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington

King Mob. The Story of Lord George Gordon and the London Riots of 1780. By Christopher Hibbert. (New York: World Publishing Co. 1958. Pp. xii, 249. $4.95.)

Lord George Gordon was mad. Walpole said so. Gordon's eccentric mother bought a commission for him in the army and then decided that

he should adopt a naval career. When he was on leave in Scotland, he campaigned for a seat in Parliament so earnestly that his jittery opponent bought a pocket borough for him (Luggershall) and he entered Commons at the age of twenty-two. Gordon attacked both the Tories and the opposition with more fury than intelligence. He was worse than a radical; he was a dull radical. Members on both sides of the house listened to his erratic diatribes with a vaguely apprehensive contempt.

When the penal laws against Catholics were slightly modified in 1778, Methodists and other dissenters protested loudly. Gordon expressed the view that George III was a papist. For this irresponsible mendacity he was invited to become President of the London Protestant Association. Gordon's followers urged him on from excess to excess. He did not fully realize where their reckless enthusiasm was leading him until it was too late to turn back. As Mr. Hibbert aptly observes, it is a familiar pattern of disaster.

The famous riots began when Gordon issued a call for 40,000 association members to march on Parliament with a Protestant petition against the relief act. The procession, which began in orderly fashion, was soon joined by ruffians, street boys, pickpockets, and prostitutes. The more sedate petitioners went home and their places were taken by criminals and, as Samuel Romilly described them, "the lowest rabble." It was this mob which gave the signal for destruction by looting the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador and then setting it on fire. At least 700 persons lost their lives before order was restored by the military.

A great many people took part in the series of outrages, using the defense of Protestantism as an excuse to loot, destroy, and burn. Mr. Hibbert also asserts that the riots were, basically, a revolt of the poor against authority. The frustrated and exploited poor rose up incoherently in protest, unprepared and inarticulate, unsure even themselves of what they wanted or hoped to attain. Encouraged by fanatics and criminals, reckless and drunken, they themselves became criminals, and died to no purpose which they could name, rebels without a cause and without a leader.

This study is based entirely on contemporary pamphlets, newspapers, and trial documents in the British Museum; and upon the diaries, memoirs, and letters, published and unpublished, of eyewitnesses. It is a first-rate study of the unstable character of Lord George Gordon and the week-long alliance of bigotry and angry despair that delivered London over to mob rule.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Georgetown University

Histoire Universelle des Missions Catholiques. Volume III. *Les Missions Contemporaines (180-1957);* Volume IV, *L'Eglise Catholique en Face du Monde non-Chrétien.* Edited by Simon Delacroix. (Paris: Librairie Grund. 1958, 1959. Pp. 446; 413. Frs. 4,000 each bound volume.)

These volumes complete the new four-volume history of the Catholic missions and are equal in quality with the preceding two. [Cf. REVIEW, XLIV (October, 1958), 313-315.] This collaborative work will doubtless serve as the standard Catholic mission history for a long time to come. Specialists in their respective fields contribute some forty chapters to an integrated survey of all major mission themes that one would expect to find treated in a work of this scope. Together the two volumes show the development of the modern concept of world-wide Catholic missions under the direction of a progressively more missionary-minded papacy. The completed work is a tribute as well as a proof of Catholic France's leadership of the modern mission world and is as much a work of art as of science.

Volume III traces the history of missionary development in the past century and a half. The 414 pages of text are divided into two parts, the first of which has a special significance in its title, "L'Action des Papes." A survey of missionary work in its greatest moment of decline after the French Revolution and the era of Napoleon serves as an introduction to an account of the Holy See's efforts to revitalize and modernize the missionary endeavor of the Church. Paradoxically enough, Gregory XVI (1831-1846) was the chief architect of this modern mission reconstruction. Whatever his limitations in other fields, they were not reflected in his farseeing work for the missions. He is rightly considered the great missionary pope of the nineteenth century. Under Gregory XVI, who as Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda had a first-hand working acquaintance with mission problems, we find a vigorous policy of dividing up the mission field into new vicariates apostolic, for the first time in Africa and Japan, then in India and even in Oceania. The same pope made use of vicars apostolic as the only effective way of reorganizing the Church in the new republics of Latin America. Gregory XVI assured the eventual triumph of a papal-centered system of direct control over the expansion of the Church as against any essentially lay-directed *patronato* system, classically developed by Spain and Portugal and later attempted by France under a different form. This papal direction of the new mission opportunities that were among the mixed blessings of nineteenth-century imperialism is given an interesting perspective in an account of "The Missions at the Vatican Council." Unfortunately, the mission topics on the agenda never reached the discussion stage because of the abrupt ending of the council.

The second part of this volume covers the missionary expansion of the Church country by country from the Americas to Oceania and even to the

Balkans where the missionary aspect of the Holy See's perennial efforts at reunion are evident. The conclusion reached, not unjustly, declares that the past century of mission effort is the greatest ever recorded in the history of the Church. The selective bibliography will help the critical reader to explore certain interesting mission topics like the French mission protectorate and its consequences. These problems and other paradoxes of French mission work, it would seem, are left undiscussed, rather than evaded.

Volume IV is missiography rather than mission history. Under six broad topics the whole gamut of modern mission activity is surveyed; missionary education of the child, the family, the community, and of the missionary himself. The direction of the vast mission effort by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide is explained in all its aspects. The modern role of the laity in mission work is described not only in its function of securing mission support but in actual work in the field as mission auxiliaries. Forces at work in the missionary milieu such as the great world religions are interestingly studied and their influence on the mission effort assessed. Anti-missionary movements like the new nationalism, but especially Communism, are discussed to complete the missionary picture and bring it up to date. It would be difficult to imagine a more graphically presented picture of the total Catholic mission world than is given in this final volume.

Predominant as was the role of Catholic France in modern missionary leadership and contribution, the impression remains that non-French missionary activity, especially Spanish, is not treated sufficiently or in due proportion to its historical importance and present position. In this sense the work is less universal than its title indicates. The absence of a selected bibliography similar to those of the other three volumes is explained, but it is still to be regretted. The name and place index of some 1,200 entries is valuable as is the check list of papal documents on the missions, but it is no substitute for a subject index of some proportions. The illustrative material from charts and maps to portraits of outstanding mission personalities is quite literally, *par excellence.*

WILLIAM J. COLEMAN

Maryknoll Seminary

Rosmini: Priest, Philosopher and Patriot. By Claude Leetham. (Baltimore: Helicon Press. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 508. $7.50.)

Unlike many thinkers who are driven by a passion for the wide acceptance of their views during their own lifetime, Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797-1855) took a calm and modest attitude toward the spread of his ideas. He was convinced that they made a genuine response to the needs of the modern mind for combining a sense of human subjectivity with a

yearning for union with God through knowing and loving. And hence he felt he could wait for the force of his thought to outwear the distractions of his temporal involvements and address itself to reflective minds. There are several indications that his long range confidence was not a self-delusion.

The most important of these signs of Rosmini's continued vitality is, of course, the persistence of his Institute of Charity, especially in Italy and England. But there is also the informative and (at least for continental Europe) quite influential *Rivista Rosminiana* which continues to explore and develop his ideas. The *Editione Nazionale* of his complete writings is bringing out not only the critical editions of his major works but also his letters, private notes, and other valuable manuscript remains. On the occasion of his centenary, philosophers from all over the world gathered to consider the relevance of his thought and published two large volumes of papers. And just recently, the present reviewer received an offprint of an article by Professor Feibleman of Tulane University on the ethical and psychological principles of Rosmini. Feibleman made use of the 1882 Thomas Davidson translation, thus calling to mind the influence of Rosmini on Brownson and on the American Hegelians.

The present work contains one special chapter on Rosmini's philosophical ideas. It is written by the former Superior General of the Institute of Charity, Father Bozzetti, and it presents his thought in a clear and sympathetic way. Stress is laid on reading his teaching within its own context and as accompanied by all the qualifications which cannot be found in a thesis-statement of his position. There is no good reason for linking the historical Rosmini with a condemned doctrine on ontologism.

But the book as a whole is primarily a biography, an evocation of the person and his daily work. Father Leetham, who is himself a member of the Institute of Charity and Headmaster of Ratcliffe College, makes honest and skillful use of the abundant sources. He enables us to see how much the young men studying for the priesthood during the second decade of the nineteenth century were left on their own, as far as any philosophical principles were concerned. The basic ideas behind Rosmini's religious institute and his spirituality are described in a concrete way, with plentiful use of letters and contemporary descriptions.

For the historian of the nineteenth century, perhaps, the two outstanding features of this biography are its description of the founding and early growth of the Institute of Charity in England, where it left a strong impress on Catholic life, and its account of Rosmini's intricate relations on the political plane with Pius IX and the Risorgimento. The details of Rosmini's role as ambassador from Piedmont and his accompaniment of Pius IX into exile are built up from the primary sources, especially

Rosmini's own letters and the reports of his associates. And there is a particularly significant theme running throughout the book: the strong lifelong friendship between Rosmini and Manzoni, between the religious and the literary minds which were striving to bring the Italian Catholic world into positive relationship with the best modern currents. On all these topics, this first modern biography of Rosmini in English brings us fresh data.

JAMES COLLINS

Saint Louis University

The Political Thought of John Henry Newman. By Terence Kenny. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. x, 208. $5.00.)

Here is a book with all the machinery of scholarship. It has a preface, a table of contents, a note on manuscript material, an introduction, imposing chapter titles ("Conservatism," "The State," "Church and State," etc.), copious footnotes, a *select* bibliography of over seven pages, and an index. It is, moreover, on a subject which needs a book-length study for full exploration. Yet it is finally an unsatisfying, even disappointing book. If its "essential aim," as the author says, "is to present clearly what Newman's political ideas actually were" (p. 22), then its aim is not fulfilled. Clarity in marshalling the materials, in organizing them logically and rhetorically, and in presenting the author's conclusions is precisely what the book lacks.

The author invites severe criticism by his own large and tediously reiterated claims for his study. Over and over again he repeats, with slight variations, the assertion of his preface that this aspect of Newman's thought "has never before been adequately treated." He says it again twice in the introduction, and on pages 98, 104, and 143. Such repetitions are so frequent that one is tempted to conclude either that the author is absent-minded or that he considers his readers to be so. The author paraphrases a passage from Matthew Arnold's letter to Newman, naming Newman, along with Goethe, Wordsworth, and Sainte-Beuve, as a significant influence on Arnold's thought (p. 163). (The footnote refers us to manuscript material, though the letter is a familiar one, published in 1923.) On page 188 the author refers to the same subject again, as if for the first time. Again, the first time he mentions Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* it is simply as "his Apologia" (p. 11), as if to readers familiar with it. The second reference is to "Newman's justly celebrated autobiography—*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*" (p. 14), and the third is to "his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* written in 1864 . . ." (p. 19). These are but a few examples of many I might cite to show the way the exposition continually circles back

on itself instead of moving forward in logical fashion. The structure of sentences, paragraphs, and chapters all too often violates those fundamental principles of unity, coherence, and emphasis which Newman's own prose is rooted in, however much it may go beyond them in felicity of phrasing and imaginative power.

Chapter I, entitled "Conservatism," examines the nature of Newman's conservatism, stressing its religious basis in the doctrine of the fall of man, and the importance of tradition in Newman's entire philosophy. "Newman is no more afraid than Burke to glorify 'prejudice' but as with Burke, it is prejudice in favour of 'the wisdom of our ancestors' which he vindicates" (p. 57). Yet important as is tradition, Kenny concludes that both in Newman's politics and his religion, authority is even more important. In Chapter IV, entitled "Liberalism," Kenny dissents, however —and rightly so in my judgment—from Russell Kirk's attempt to enlist Newman as one of the "inspirers of a new American conservatism" (p. 128). Whereas in Chapter I Kenny has stressed the strong conservative basis of Newman's political thought, in this chapter he affirms that "there is a very real liberalism in Newman, in some ways almost individualistic . . . ," and he declares that a not inappropriate title for the book would be "The Liberalism of Cardinal Newman." The chapter, obviously based on wide reading, treats judiciously Newman's difficulties over the editorial policies of the *Rambler,* his sympathy with the liberal Catholicism of Montalembert and Lacordaire, and his opposition to the extreme Ultramontanism of Veuillot and the *Univers.* These two chapters touch on some of the central problems of Newman's political thought. Yet their conclusions point in different directions, and the author makes no sustained attempt to resolve the seeming inconsistencies into a unified view. Chapters II and III, on "The State" and "Church and State," raise such interesting questions as the relation of Newman's view of the State to that of St. Augustine and to the natural law theory. If they are indecisive, it is partly because the author is aware of the complexity of the questions. It is also, I fear, because the author does not give due consideration to context and chronology in these chapters. "Church and State" begins and ends with the years of the Oxford Movement, and gives almost no attention to Newman's later thought on the subject.

It is undeniable that the author essayed a difficult task in exploring this subject, and faced up to many of its most complex aspects. What is unfortunate is that he has neither organized his materials cogently nor stated even his provisional conclusions with clarity. This could have been a highly significant and a definitive study of an aspect of Newman's thought that has not been fully and systematically explored. Even if it were true that Newman's political thought as expressed over the course of more than fifty years is finally self-contradictory—which I do not believe to be the

case—it would be the scholar's responsibility to expose these inconsistencies with a finer precision than is demonstrated in this study.

ALVAN S. RYAN

University of Notre Dame

Newman Studien. Dritte Folge. Edited by Heinrich Fries and Werner Becker. (Nürnberg: Glock und Lutz. 1957. Pp. 306.)

In July, 1956, the first International Newman Conference was held in Luxemburg, taking as its theme "Newman and the Modern Age." This third series of the valuable *Newman Studien* contains the papers delivered during the sessions. Six are in English, five in French, and five in German; one—the brief introductory paper on "Newman Scholars and Newman Associations" by Nicolas Theis—has a section in each of the three languages. In English, three of the contributions are by C. Stephen Dessain, archivist and superior of the Birmingham Oratory, who discusses Newman's first, youthful conversion in 1816, describes the Birmingham Newman Archives, and in a sermon delivered at the conference praises Newman's life-long devotion to God and the Church and his dedication to the ideal of holiness portrayed in the Gospel. Also in English, Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., pays tribute to Newman as a pioneer of Irish university education; H. Francis Davis compares the teachings of Newman and St. Thomas; and the late R. D. Middleton, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Oxford, recognizes Newman as "the prime mover, under God, in the revived spiritual life of the Church of England." In German, Werner Becker writes on Newman and ecumenism and furnishes in the volume's appendix some useful bibliographical information; Erich Przywara presents Newman's claim to a place among the Church's great doctors and teachers; Franz Michel Willam assays his basic philosophical principles; and Heinrich Fries asserts his importance in the work of present-day apologetics. In French there are papers by J. H. Walgrave on the general theme of the conference; by Fernande Tardivel on Newman as a thinker with an artist's sensibility; by Jean Guitton on Newman's theory of development and its contemporary importance; by Pierre Frieden on Newman and Pascal; and by Denys Gorce on the relationship of Newman's thought to current existentialist theories.

A mere glance at the names of the contributors assures us of the high quality of Newman scholarship enlisted for the Luxemburg conference. As is, perhaps, inevitable in such a symposium, the papers differ widely in the level of approach to Newman. The English papers in general have a more "popular" tone, while most of the French and German are rather technical and presuppose a considerable acquaintance with Newman's life

and work. Since it would be impossible, in a brief review, to consider each paper individually, a very few specific remarks must suffice here. This reviewer was particularly impressed by Guitton's treatment of the theory of development as preservative of the *duration* of the Christological "moment" in opposition to historical and theological *instantisme*. It must be noted, however, that in one important point—the relationship of "fact" of Christianity and "idea" of Christianity—Guitton's interpretation of Newman is open to serious objection. Here, as in his 1933 *La philosophie de Newman*, Guitton seems to confuse to the point of identification "fact" and "idea"; but surely in text after text of the *Essay on Development* Newman takes great pains to distinguish clearly one from the other. Unless this distinction is made and maintained, moreover, the complete orthodoxy of Newman's theory is not easy to defend. Pierre Frieden's gracefully written paper on Newman and Pascal is another high point of the volume; most readers will probably be intrigued by his ingenious comparison between the *Provinciales* and the *Tracts*. Finally, this reviewer at least was pleased to find Father Dessain, in his paper on the Birmingham archives, giving salutary warning to contemporary Newman scholars that Newman's doctrine is to be found in its full richness in his forty volumes carefully prepared for the press. "That is the main stream," Dessain writes, "and there is a danger that 'le gout de l'inédit' may lead us to try to satisfy our thirst at very minor rivulets."

JOSEPH P. CHRISTOPHER

The Catholic University of America

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Religion and American Democracy. By Roy F. Nichols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 108. $2.50.)

In this volume, the published version of the Rockwell Lectures given at Rice Institute, Professor Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania has attempted to define the relationship between religion and American democracy. Two lectures place severe restrictions on the use of evidence, but his findings do show that American democracy, maturing as it did in politico-religious communities, has (or more exactly had) a "truly religious quality." The old world order of Church-State relations was discarded without segregating religion from the body politic. These are not new findings, but it is refreshing to find them clearly stated from the academic forum.

In the first lecture the contributions of all religious groups, from the Puritans to the Catholics, to the tradition of religious liberty and self-government, accepted constituents of American democracy by the time the Constitution was framed, are surveyed. Some confusion in following the contributions of the Puritans would have been avoided if the Puritan

colonies were not described as theocracies since theocracies are not usually considered cradles of democracies. These colonies were Bible commonwealths inspired by Calvinism, and true to the political implications of this theology the Puritan leaders harbored a distrust of popular government. But self-government did take root as the congregational church polity was gradually transferred to the political level. The growth of religious liberty was indirect, too; the endless splintering of the Protestant groups made *any one* established church unbearable to the others and created the need for and acceptance of religious liberty for all. A decline of religious fervor and the spread of deism hastened the acceptance, as the author has indicated.

The second lecture, on a neglected factor in the making of American society, will have a stronger appeal to historians. Professor Nichols calls it the Arminian Revolution—the revolt of the evangelicals against the doctrines of strict Calvinism in the pre-Civil War period—which through revivals and tracts introduced a close relationship between church and society and gave American democracy a religion of reforms and moral imperatives. Some of the important contemporary tracts of the revolution will be found, along with a list of selected secondary sources, in the bibliography.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

College of the Holy Cross

Life of Fray Antonio Margil, O.F.M. By Eduardo Enrique Rios. Translated and revised by Benedict Leutenegger, O.F.M. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1959. Pp. xiii, 159. $5.00.)

This volume is an account of the missionary activities of the saintly Father Antonio Margil, well known to all students of Spanish exploration in North America. It is straightforward and unadorned narrative of Margil's forty-three years of apostolic life. Outdistancing the celebrated Cabeza de Vaca, Margil walked barefooted into the principal cities and villages, through the valleys and deserts and over the mountains, blazing new trails throughout Central America, Mexico, and Texas in an effort to win souls for God. Margil was a man of heroic proportions: his virtue won the open admiration of his fellow friars who came in daily contact with him, of the highest Spanish civil officials who recognized his influence, as well as of the humblest natives who somehow sensed his greatness: all were drawn to the unassuming missionary. He preached to all, but his particular vocation was that of an active missionary laboring in direct contact with the Indians.

Margil and his associates developed and perfected a new approach to the problem of providing missionaries for the frontier and thereby opened a

new chapter in the annals of Franciscan history. In order to supply a continuous source of missionaries, as well as to maintain those already in the field, the Franciscans organized the mission college. This was a single establishment, quite independent of any provincial, dedicated primarily to the work of the home and frontier missions. It was a large, autonomous community which recruited and trained new members and supported those actively engaged in the apostolate of souls. The most famous of these missionary colleges were established in Mexico, at Querétaro and Zacatecas. Father Margil was intimately associated with the work of both of these institutions, at times directing their destinies but usually joining the mission bands who preached the gospel in places far removed from the college headquarters.

The book will be of particular usefulness to all students interested in Spanish missionary activity. While tracing the travels and labors of Margil the author manages to give an impressive picture of a man of great physical endurance and spiritual power, at times suggesting even miraculous power. The narrative is well documented, but unfortunately the reader is not given a critical evaluation of the material. There are very few value judgments, and the human side of Margil is not brought out; nor is his personality developed. As a result of these defects the portrait of the friar is never brought into sharp focus. The general public still awaits a definitive biography.

JOSEPH SCHMITZ

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San Antonio

Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, 1768-1836. By Annabelle M. Melville. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1958. Pp. xiv, 527. $9.00.)

One of the permanent and worthwhile monuments to the sequiscentennial of the Archdiocese of Boston is Dr. Annabelle M. Melville's biography of John Cheverus, the first Bishop of Boston. Bishop Cheverus lamentably has been overlooked by historians. This work presents to a latter day audience the life and times of a man who was universally venerated in a community which he served with uncommon intelligence and selflessly for twenty-seven years. Dr. Melville, author of biographies of Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore and Mother Elizabeth Seton, is professor of history in the State Teachers College at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and brings to this particular work a rich knowledge of the general period and keen insight into the problem of the ancient Church in the new America of the time of Carroll and Cheverus.

Cheverus was born January 28, 1768, in Mayenne, the son of parents who had been prominent for many years in the civic affairs of that city.

Educated at the College Louis-le-Grand and Saint-Magloire, he was ordained on December 18, 1790, in the last public ordination ceremony to take place in Revolutionary Paris. Almost immediately upon his ordination, he was required like his contemporaries to take the oath imposed by the leaders of the Revolution or to risk persecution and exile. Cheverus did not take the oath and within two years was in exile in England. For the next few years he ministered in England and taught languages in a Protestant school. Through his zeal a Catholic church was erected in Tottenham, and that parish, St. Francis de Sales, memorializes to this day the work of the future bishop and cardinal with an appropriate tablet.

In 1796, Father Cheverus sailed for Boston where he joined his friend and former mentor, Father Francis Matignon, at Boston's only church, that of the Holy Cross. Within a short time Cheverus was visiting the Indians and the few white Catholics in the province of Maine, which was then a part of the State of Massachusetts. These pilgrimages involved considerable hardships and dangers, and were to be a part of his life for all the years that he remained in Boston. In addition to his missionary labors in Maine and his priestly activities in other parts both of northern and southern New England, Father Cheverus participated intimately in the civic and cultural life of his adopted city. Revered by his own small flock, he was not less venerated by the non-Catholic majority for his wisdom, zeal, and erudition. His church was frequented by many not of his faith who came to profit from his eloquent Christian wisdom.

Though in constant communication with the aging Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, Father Cheverus did not have the opportunity of meeting him until the dedication of the new church in Boston in 1803. After that time the elder man frequently relied on the counsel and friendship of the younger man. It was, therefore, with little surprise and with much pleasure that all segments of both the growing Catholic and established civil community of Boston greeted the knowledge that Cheverus had been named first bishop of the newly erected diocese in 1808. The following years did not see a diminishing of the bishop's travels; rather, the reverse was the case. Besides caring for the Catholics in Maine, both among the Irish settlers and the Indian tribes, the bishop ministered to the scattered Catholics in communities in New Hampshire, Vermont, the north and south shores of Boston, western Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Because of vacancies in the Sees of New York and Philadelphia, he also managed to administer confirmation as well as other sacraments to the faithful in these places whenever his journeys brought him to and from Baltimore.

Interspersed with these travels and the widely differing needs of the Catholic people, he also had the problems of running an infant diocese which was financially in dire straits and which did not have the priests

needed to minister to the faithful, even had there been means to support them. The political situation of his adopted country in relation to his native country during the first decades of the nineteenth century required the utmost tact and diplomacy. Likewise within the Church itself seeds of dissensions between the Irish and French members of the American hierarchy had been sowed and were beginning to yield their unhappy fruit. The increasing immigration and the beginning of industrialization brought with them additional concerns, many of which would have to be solved by his successors.

During all this time Bishop Cheverus retained a great love and sense of loyalty for his native land. Soon after his arrival he had been tempted to return, urged by the solicitude of his family and friends. A later and much more imperative summons came in 1823 when he was asked by Louis XVIII to accept nomination to the See of Montauban. After a period of incertitude and questioning, the prelate accepted the royal bid and left his first see city, his departure being a source of chagrin to all groups in Boston. He was never again to see the New England region to which he gave so many years of his life. Despite the unparalleled place he held in Protestant affections and the fact that he was first bishop of a diocese destined to loom so large in American Catholic history, Cheverus almost completely dropped out of Boston memories for a full century, though in recent years both non-Catholic and Catholic Bostonians have happily evoked his irenic memory. Returning to France, the prelate became a figure in the era of the Bourbon restoration and its successor, the Orleanist dynasty. He remained at Montauban for only two years and was then appointed to the large See of Bordeaux, where he was to remain for the balance of his life. Some few months before his death in 1836 he was named a Prince of the Church. In his years in France his life was characterized by the same humility and gift for inspiring devotion in others by his innate holiness and attention to both the spiritual and temporal needs of his subjects.

Such, in sum, is Dr. Melville's outline of the life of the first Bishop of Boston. The facts are marshalled well and the author has competently avoided the great confusions into which a lesser historian might have fallen in following the peripatetic trail of the missionary prelate. The materials on which she has drawn are many, both in this country and in Europe; and the accumulated erudition has been skillfully blended to make a thoroughly readable book. Save for a very few inevitable stylisms, such as the constant reference to Cheverus as "little" or "small" and a frequent use of superlatives, the style is smooth, the interest is well maintained through a long book, and the reader will put down Dr. Melville's finished work with a sense of gratitude to God for Cheverus and to a gifted author for so felicitous a presentation of the bishop to our generation.

Dr. Melville leaves unanswered certain questions arising from Cheverus' transfer to the Diocese of Montauban. She outlines well the part played by Hyde de Neuville in the change. However, if the prelate, when first approached, was so conscientious as to seek the approval of his metropolitan, why did he, upon clear indication of the latter's decision that he should not return to France, within the space of a few months accept the final offer without even rechecking Archbishop Maréchal again to see if his feelings had changed? Dr. Melville recites the facts without offering an explanation. It would seem inconceivable that Cheverus, as portrayed, would have been impetuous, and the question of what precisely influenced his final decision seems still to remain open.

A second problem that lingers to intrigue one is that of the basic problem of the tension between the French and Irish hierarchy in the first days of the American Republic. Dr. Melville should not be expected to provide a long and detailed explanation, but this dispute, with its causes both religious and secular, might have been explored sufficiently to reveal more sharply Cheverus' position. This problem must be seen in the context of its times, and the attitude of the majortiy—for from shortly after the Revolution the Irish were the largest single Catholic group in the United States—toward the French clergy may well have called for a fuller discussion both because of Cheverus' own place in the story and, one reflects with regret, because of the subsequent "neglect" of Cheverus in Catholic New England. One of the great hopes encouraged by the book is that this "neglect" may now be over.

Dr. Melville's work is that of a trained historian, but it is hoped that it will have wide circulation among readers with less background of erudition than the author. In some areas she leaves such general readers "on their own." One such is the question of the problems of the French monarchies in the 1820's and 1830's. To readers without acquaintance with the politico-religious situation in France at the time, the sudden mention of items like the repressive legislation toward the Jesuits in 1828 is likely to come as a shock. Likewise the virtues of the monarchs are so great, at least in Cheverus' estimation, that a reader may question how much his undoubtedly sincere vision of the monarchy as an institution clouded his otherwise good vision in his judgment of individuals. Only sketchily touched upon is the participation of Cheverus in French affairs of state. Perhaps, they were less significant in fact than one might wish or, perhaps, the influence of Cheverus on proper and enlightened aspects of royal policy was of a type not likely to be revealed in records. But one wishes we knew more about how the lessons that Cheverus learned in the land he came to love were communicated by him to the monarchs of whom he was the ardent partisan.

Such individuals as James Barry, Eliza Sadler, the unnamed queen of Louis-Phillippe, the Wallys, etc., are introduced without sufficient clues of their identity and their relationship to the main protagonist and others under discussion. Here again the learned author is, perhaps, too generous in her estimation of the background of the general reader, and—to repeat—it is to be hoped that many such, as well as scholars, will take an interest in her book and subject. Likewise, the career of the unfortunate Caroline, Duchesse de Berry, might have been sketched in greater detail so that the reasons for her prominence among the legitimistes and for Cheverus' involvement in her plight could be more adequately grasped.

Dr. Melville's work may not be a "definitive" biography (is any?), but it is assuredly a most rewarding, authoritative, and timely introduction to the gentle Cheverus and to his period in the story of Catholicism in New England. It is a happy balance between exact scholarship and readable biography. Its recording and evaluation of Cheverus' Boston life and activities rival the monumental work of the *History of the Archdiocese of Boston,* published fifteen years ago. Its basic material and references are invaluable. It is copiously, though unostentatiously, documented and there is much to learn from the footnotes. The erudition is painless and the personality of her subject is not obscured by any of the dull critical apparatus or pedestrian writing which take the life out of so many scholarly biographies. On the contrary, the author writes warmly, in places enthusiastically, to present a portrait of the prelate which is undoubtedly true to life. His apostolic labors in what must have been a strange society to him, and his great loyalties to his Church and his native land are movingly delineated. Cheverus was a born aristocrat, and yet, much like the late Holy Father, he had the common touch and learned the great gift of being a true father to all his flock. Dr. Melville clearly wrote under his spell and she communicates his genial, warm spirit to the reader. In passing, it might be noted that the bibliography is impressive and the index is helpful. Likewise, it should be noted that the conflict between the author and the reproduced Library of Congress card about Cheverus' name must be resolved in favor of the author.

✠ John J. Wright
Bishop of Pittsburgh

The Spirit Is Mercy. The Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati: 1859-1958. By Mary Ellen Evans. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 346. $4.75.)

One is often tempted to dismiss a book of this kind with the comment, "Just another story of another religious community." Such an observation would be a mistaken one in this instance, for here is a rare combination

of historical background and contrasting personalities so skilfully intertwined that there results an ever-changing pattern, symmetrical and varicolored. Miss Evans has written a history not only of the Sisters of Mercy of Cincinnati, but also a partial history of the city itself. It is a delightful tale of feminine courage, intuition, and constancy, and it is the story, too, of the intrepid Mrs. Sarah Peter, daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington and daughter-in-law of Senator Rufus King. The secret of Mrs. Peter's success seems to have been her inability to conceive of anyone's saying "no" to her "yes."

"In one of the oldest and tidiest of these [houses], your mother sits at a little table, the hour pointing at nine P.M., though the twilight is still bright. . . ." So wrote Sarah Peter from the quaint old Irish town of Kinsale to her children in far-off America. The "house" was the Convent of Mercy; the year was 1857, and the purpose was to take back to lusty Cincinnati the daughters of Catherine McAuley. If Archbishop Purcell wanted Sisters of Mercy from Ireland, Mrs. Peter would see that he had his wish. Mother Teresa Maher of Kinsale might protest—Ireland needed her sisters—but Sarah Peter talked long, hard, and fast. A woman of determination, she swept all negatives out of her way. The new world was to carry off the cream of the old.

So it was that there arrived in Cincinnati in 1858 eleven sisters from Kinsale. Once established, their charity knew no bounds. The author gives her readers an insight into the many-faceted life of these religious who were at home in the classroom, in tenements, in hospitals, and on the battlefields. The same spirit that filled the "long black basket" for Cincinnati's destitute also prompted the construction of hospitals, asylums, and even a church! Their zeal carried into the midst of floods, plagues, and riots; it overcame ecclesiastical disapproval, and it forged a union of more than fifty Mercy communities. No obstacle was too great for these resolute women.

Miss Evans has placed her characters in the foreground of a growing Cincinnati, fighting for its place in the American scene. The sisters and the city complement each other. With delicate humor, the author dips back into Mercy history and shows us the appealing, intelligent Mother Bridgeman engaged in a subtle personality clash with Miss Florence Nightingale who was not only "aggressive, dissembling and jealous of her power," but was also British! Carrying her readers on, Miss Evans follows through with moving scenes from the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World War I. But the central figure is always the black-robed Sisters of Mercy. Fittingly, the history closes with a reminder that the story of Kinsale is synonymous with the appearance of the Lady to the "poor little girl with wet bare feet." Lourdes, Kinsale, and Cincinnati all

savor of the miraculous. Truly does the author say that with Jamaica and London curving the Dublin, Carlow, Limerick, Kinsale axis, Mercy unity has made a "final circle around the heartlands of America."

SISTER NATALIE KENNEDY

College of St. Mary of the Springs

GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Western Morals. By Crane Brinton. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1959. Pp. x, 502. $7.50.)

Professor Brinton is not the first scholar, and probably not the last, bold enough to attempt a comprehensive history of western morals. W. E. H. Lecky's *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne,* together with his *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe,* remain the classic works on the subject, and have survived better than Edward Westermarck's *The Origin and the Development of Moral Ideas,* in which modern scholarship has exposed many errors. Professor Brinton's book lacks the encyclopaedic quality of these earlier works, but it is refreshingly free from their anti-Christian and anti-theological prejudices. His work has more in common with Sir Harold Nicolson's *Good Behavior,* and, like it, represents the urbane, detached, witty, reflections of a scholar who is also a man of letters and a man of the world. In the course of his narrative which stretches from the time of the ancient Egyptians to our own day, he corrects many falsifications of emphasis, while being extremely cautious in committing himself to a new set of generalizations. Thus he criticizes the canonization of fifth-century Athens, pointing out the Greek lack of concern for victims of violence, and the Dyonisiac elements in Athenian private and public life. The Greek view of life approached much closer to the Christian "vale of tears" than many historians have allowed. Brinton notes that freedom of speech in the Middle Ages was much more widespread than is generally supposed, and that while one may admire the man of the Renaissance, the latter did singularly little to raise the mass of his fellow citizens to his own high level.

Professor Brinton finds a constant element in western moral life which he describes as *agon.* By this he does not mean mere human competitiveness, nor the Darwinian struggle for survival, but the ritualist competition for the great honors of a given society. Morality, in the social sense, is the framework of rules within which this striving is carried on. Until the seventeenth century competitors were limited to aristocrats and gentlemen, but since then the list has been lengthened and now extends even into the world of business. The essence of western egalitarianism is prizes for all.

The author does not subscribe to any formal natural law thesis, but he sees other moral constants in the acceptance of such qualities as honesty, kindness, self-control, and industry as good, and the condemnation of others, such as lying, cruelty, and selfishness as bad. While praising the ideal of moral progress, he sees no evidence that men are getting closer to ethical ideals, but he points to the abolition of slavery, the condemnation of war as evil, the characterization of violence and disorder as abnormalities, as concrete moral achievements within the western historical span. Today, western man finds himself the heir to two distinct moral traditions, that of Christianity and the Enlightenment. These are normally opposed to each other as mutually exclusive, but Professor Brinton does not view them in this light, rather he sees them as inter-acting forces, one modifying the other. The predicament of western man in the twentieth century is to resolve these antimonies. Mercifully, the author does not indulge in prophecies, but is content to outline the *status quaestionis* as he sees it.

NORMAN ST. JOHN-STEVAS

London, England

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Comte de Gobineau—Mère Bénédicte de Gobineau: Correspondence, 1872-1882. Publiée et annotée par A. B. Duff avec la collaboration de R. Rancoeur. (Paris: Mercure de France. 1958. Two Volumes. Pp. 319, 329. Frs. 2,400.)

The letters published in these two volumes are of considerable importance, since they reveal facets of Gobineau's character that have not been generally recognized either by his admirers or by his detractors. They also illuminate the degeneration of his categories of thought. M. Duff edited, introduced, and annotated this correspondence with exemplary precision. Valuable excerpts from the personal memoir of the Comtesse de La Tour complete the picture of Gobineau's last years at the end of the second volume.

Arthur de Gobineau had a sister, a Benedictine nun in the Abbey of Solesmes. Some of his letters to Mère Bénédicte were published by Duff ten years ago in the *Revue de la littérature comparée* (1949, pp. 451-561). Mère Bénédicte adored Arthur who retired (we should say, rather, that he was retired) from the diplomatic service of France in 1876, spending the last six years of his life in gaudy misery, trying to make money as a sculptor, proclaiming a haughty "aristocratic" attitude to the things of this world on every possible occasion, but sponging meanwhile on a variety of people from the Emperor of Brazil to the husband of the woman he loved and

engaging in the vilest financial quarrels with his own wife and daughters. What, then, is of interest to the intellectual historian beyond these miserable (and, of course, always unwitting) self-revelations? In crass contradiction to his sudden avowal of Catholicism to Tocqueville in 1857, it is evident, e.g., that Gobineau remained a pagan throughout. Yet it is instructive to see him as he reaps the social benefits of his political pro-Catholicism (or, rather, anti-liberalism), e.g., in certain circles around the "Abbé" Liszt in Rome. His letters thus shed some light on that influential group of political Catholics of the 1870-1890 period who were united in their hatred of democracy and who unwittingly did so much to further the early prestige of German racialist theories. Here is a difficult sub-chapter of European Catholic intellectual and social history that remains unexplored.

Gobineau, who claims to have been among the last of the true patriots, reveals again and again his paranoid hatred for his own country (I, 54); he is delighted that his daughter is not marrying a Frenchman ("my main fear," I, 155). He, who extols the virtues of mediaeval family life, exclaims to his sister, a nun, how he hopes that the mail would bring the glad tidings of his wife's death. He claims that he disdains money and the "bourgeois" spirit; but he involves himself in the squalidest hagglings, stooping to all kinds of social intrigues, trying to exploit the benevolence of the good nuns to get sculptural commissions for himself from pious countesses. Gobineau, who prides himself for his "Viking" ancestors (*Histoire de Ottar Jarl)* and who signs himself "Ottar" in his letters, sells his "ancestral" castle at the first favorable occasion and stamps in fury when a modest local historian questions some of his fraudulent genealogical claims. Poor Mère Bénédicte! She loves her brother; she makes a very good Catholic argument against some of his racialist and pagan obsessions, but she, too, cannot leave politics alone ("I dream but of one thing, the crowning of a Real King of France"). She, too, calls the political leaders of the republic a *canaille*, foresees a second commune much worse than the first, and even speculates that the republican era might have brought about a drastic change in the weather in contrast to the benevolent regularity of the seasons during the old regime.

In his introduction to some of the Tocqueville-Gobineau letters this reviewer leaned over backwards to counter-balance somewhat the now standard condemnation of Gobineau to the category of precursor of racism and fascism. After having read these letters he feels that he may have leaned backwards a little too much. Unlike Tocqueville, Gobineau fell away from the Church permanently. Again unlike Tocqueville who believed strongly in free will and who, though he criticized the political support given by certain churchmen to Louis Napoleon, believed in the potential harmony of the Church with democracy, Gobineau proclaimed his political support of the Church while he became more and more of a fatalist and a

violent enemy of democracy. Thus these letters complete the picture of contrast of these two men, one the true nobleman, the other the false aristocrat, who a century ago exemplified the constructive and degenerating tendencies of conservative thought.

JOHN A. LUKACS

Chestnut Hill College

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. Volume III: *The Empire Commonwealth, 1870-1919.* Edited by E. A. Benians, Sir James Butler, and C. E. Carrington. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 948. $19.50.)

As the title indicates, the main theme of this volume is the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations described in the introductory essay by the late E. A. Benians as "a working league of nations, capable of collaboration, settling in peace their own differences, each free in its own life, strong and united in defence, and sharing common ideals." J. E. Tyler discusses how the growth of dominion nationalism resulted in the decision to use regularly scheduled imperial conferences as the medium of communication between Britain and the self-governing units of the empire when federalism was rejected as a threat to the sovereignty of the latter. In two essays, W. C. B. Tunstall details the growing interest and share that the dominions took in imperial defense, and C. E. Carrington emphasizes their significant contribution to the British success in World War I. K. C. Wheare describes the activities of commonwealth delegates at the peace conference: by insisting on separate representation at the conference, individual ratification of the treaties, and participation as sovereign states in the League of Nations, dominion leaders gained international recognition of their independent status within the empire.

Although the commonwealth is the featured topic of discussion in this work, attention is paid to other aspects of empire history. In three essays, F. H. Hinsley discusses the importance of German colonial and economic competition in Africa, often used as diplomatic weapons to convince English politicians of the utility of a German alliance, and German naval enthusiasm as factors necessitating British agreements with former enemies France and Russia. The relationship between imperial policy and British domestic politics is expertly treated in essays by J. R. M. Butler, R. E. Robinson, and A. F. Madden. This reviewer was particularly impressed by Mr. Robinson's evaluation of the influence of the Irish Home Rule issue in driving the "Forward school" imperialists in the Liberal Party into the Unionist alliance with Conservatives thereby strengthening the aggressive imperialist block in the House of Commons. Concerning colonial problems, the contributors, without ignoring the condescending racial attitudes of

many English politicians, stress the positive aspects of British imperialism: a sincere interest and successful effort in raising the educational and living standards of native peoples, and in protecting them from exploitation by their own leaders and white colonists. Readers will be interested in the valuable essays by J. Simmons, E. A. Benians, G. S. Graham, Anthony Steel, Sir H. Lauterpacht, and R. B. Pugh on tropical Africa, imperial economic developments, the empire and the United States, colonial disputes and international law, and the colonial office.

The editors guaranteed the success of this book by their selection of contributors and arrangement of essays. Each of the essays stands on its own as an example of competent historical scholarship, but the editors have blended them in such a way as to produce a well integrated volume that is indispensable for all students of modern British and empire history.

LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

University of Illinois

Consciousness and Society. The Reorientation of European Social Thought. 1890-1930. By H. Stuart Hughes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1958. Pp. xi, 433. $6.00.)

One should attach the adjective "important" to a book rather sparingly. In this reviewer's opinion, this volume merits it. Professor Hughes has earlier demonstrated his competence in a wide area of modern history—France, Germany, and Italy. He wisely limits this study to this segment of western Europe. Selecting the period from 1890 to 1930, he sketches the social thought of a generation which was questioning the positivist assumptions of its predecessors and was growing in awareness of the limitations on human freedom.

The volume is an essay in intellectual history and assumes that only a small number of gifted individuals guide the thinking of the educated community. Dr. Hughes believes that Croce, Freud, and Weber were the most important influences of their time; but he treats a host of other social thinkers as Bergson, Péguy, Durkheim, Pareto, and Mann. In full control of his material, the author is able to illustrate the atmosphere of self-doubt and pessimism which appeared, somewhat fortuitously, in a variety of thinkers toward the end of the nineteenth century in western Europe. He finds an emphasis on the subjective factor in social observation: no longer could the thinker pretend to stand outside the process as an objective scientist. Professor Hughes argues, correctly, that the earlier figures in his study struggled to retain as much of the rationalist tradition as possible. Their successors carried the fight against positivism to its ultimate and prepared the way for the somber climate of contemporary European think-

ing. In handling these changing "styles of thought," the author does not distort his data.

Most of the readers of this REVIEW will not share the philosophy of Professor Hughes. But they will appreciate his meticulous scholarship and judicious evaluation. This reviewer would agree with him that the Enlightenment needs re-evaluation in an age of totalitarian assault. I would like to see it attempted by American Catholics who enjoy the fruits of the eighteenth-century political revolutions. But I question the author's use of the construct "the Enlightenment." He is understandably anxious to preserve the eighteenth century's concern for individual liberty and for moral and social well-being. But he knows the diversity of the political and social thought of the period; he would hardly support the emphasis on an *a priori* abstract reasoning that was never synthesized with a contrary tendency toward empiricism; he would repudiate the dominant psychology of the age; he rejects the facile optimism of some eighteenth-century thinkers, and the concept of progress and historical interpretation that fascinated so many of its figures; he knows that, at least in America, our cherished civil liberties owe as much to the English common law as to the "Enlightenment." This type of discussion cannot be carried on without some algebra. One wonders if it could not be less ambiguous.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Ladycliff College

Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy. By Klaus Epstein. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 473. $10.00.)

In writing this biography the author has tackled a task that other scholars have gladly left alone. Erzberger's life, as the politically inspired judicial process against him in 1920 and his assassination a year later demonstrated, was enveloped in controversy to a degree unusual even for a politician; and his innumerable activities and frequent shifts of position make him a most difficult subject to portray. And yet Epstein has written a brilliant study distinguished by solid scholarship, an incisive style, a mastery of detail, and excellent political sense. That some critics will not see Erzberger in such a favorable light should not take away from the substantial achievement of this work.

Resting chiefly on the remnants of Erzberger's papers, with support from those of Carl Bachem and Count Hertling, both prominent Center Party figures, this study presents new material on Erzberger's early life, his business affairs, his interesting and sometimes curious relations with the Vatican, and his attempt to initiate a separate peace with Russia. The chapters on his role in the initiation of the Reichstag peace resolution of

July, 1917, and in the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles are undoubtedly the best accounts of both actions. The first suggests that his decision to promote the overthrow of his patron, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, was more impromptu than was once thought; and the chapter on his decisive intervention to secure a reluctant cabinet's acceptance of the peace treaty justifies Epstein's praise of Erzberger's political judgment, courage, and sense of responsibility.

By a skillful collation of the old and new material on his subject, Mr. Epstein is able to detail the amazing range of Erzberger's activities between 1914 and 1920 and to provide a better foundation for an estimate of his place in German history. He was the first director of Germany's foreign propaganda organization, Bethmann's political and diplomatic trouble-shooter, the real power behind the first democratic coalition, armistice commissioner, and finally the all important Minister of Finance in 1919-1920. He often accomplished a great deal though always laboring under adverse conditions; and he sometimes made serious mistakes. The government hoodwinked him in September, 1917, in making him believe that it had given a favorable answer to the Vatican on the question of the restoration of Belgium; and he failed to understand the need to force William II's abdication in the last days of the war. But most of the time he worked at the level of political reality, an all too rare accomplishment in war-time Germany. And he was almost in a class by himself in his willingness to act vigorously in the face of difficult situations.

Epstein deals in more or less of an offhand manner with Erzberger's opportunism and inconsistencies. The reason seems to be one of focus—he has chosen to treat his subject as a national figure, not as a Center Party deputy. Except in a brilliant, but necessarily slight, chapter on the pre-war Center, the reader rarely sees Erzberger in the context of his party or against the background of German Catholic society. History will largely judge Erzberger on the basis of his work at the national level, but much of his inconsistency can only be explained by the difficulties he faced in trying to get around the stubborn opposition of many party associates and of the bishops toward any kind of co-operation with the Socialists. The tragic failure of his own party to rally to his support in his trial was probably expressive of this situation.

That Erzberger was keenly aware of this problem is illustrated by two actions not mentioned in this work. In connection with his alignment of the Center with the Socialists after July, 1917, he planned to bring about the appointment of the conservative Centrist, Porsch, as under-secretary of state for cultural affairs in Prussia, ostensibly to assuage the fears of his conservative associates and the hierarchy as to the future of the Prussian confessional school. In the post-war years he carefully improved his own relations with the Catholic Workers Association. His undoubted success in

this effort during his last tour of the Rhineland in April, 1921, may well have been the major factor in the decision of his chief rival in the Center Party, Adam Stegerwald, the conservative head of the Christian Trade Unions, to try to form a new party on an inter-denominational basis with his own organization as the nucleus.

Erzberger will undoubtedly continue to be a controversial figure. As Epstein rightly suggests, he was a young man in a hurry; and his great gifts could not fully make up for his lack of a humanistic education and cultured background which would have made him more sensitive to others and more critical of himself. Erzberger was, in the words of that perceptive and friendly observer of Center personalities, Joseph Joos, the "assault-leader," not a political psychologist. Be that as it may, he bravely gave his life for his work and his ideals; and his new biographer has erected a solid monument to his great courage, his sense of responsibility, and his lasting contributions to German democracy.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

The Catholic University of America

Europa's Weg nach Potsdam. Schuld und Schicksal im Donauraum. By Wenzel Jaksch. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. 1958. Pp. 522. DM 15,80.)

This volume is an important and extremely well done piece of history writing. In a secondary meaning only it contains the political autobiography of a well known former Sudeten German labor leader who serves at present as a member of the German Bundestag, elected on the Social Democratic ticket. If available in English translation, this reviewer would not hesitate putting it on the list of obligatory readings for his courses in the recent history of central Europe. This does not necessarily mean full endorsement of all the views expressed, the emphasis given, and judgments arrived at by the author. His approach is that of a convinced, invariably loyal Social Democrat of the revisionist Marxist version with a firmly established humanistic creed. In making his point the author stresses his indictment of Eduard Benes' policy and of Pan-slavism which he considers just as objectionable as its Pan-German counterpart; in doing so he refers repeatedly to the authority of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, especially to their prophetic warnings of 1849 in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* against the potential danger of a Russian aggression (pp. 24, 28). Furthermore, he accuses Communism of concealing behind the false image of a "denaturalized" Marx the ideas inherited from Bakunin, the staunch proponent of a Russian messianism whose chosen people is vested with the historic mission of liberating the enslaved world with the blessings of a social revolution (pp. 37, 463).

Jaksch has made a substantial, solidly documented, and lucidly written contribution to the recent history of Czechoslovakia, especially to its nationality and national minority problems. He guides his reader from St. Germain (1919) to Munich (1938) and Potsdam (1945) and proves convincingly his thesis that "the way to Potsdam was paved with broken pledges" (p. 379). Without approving extremism, he vindicates the Sudeten German objectives, condemns the enforced mass expulsion, and describes its tragic history in the perspective of the Atlantic Charter and the rhetoric of fundamental human rights; the open defiance of the natural law, or humanity, by national chauvinism in all its shades, the application of the "national state"—a cliché for the historic society of central European nations, inevitably and predictably led to "the bitter end" which means to the loss of the geographic center of Europe to Russia. The author might, indeed, have chosen "Crime and Punishment in International Politics" as the sub-title of his volume.

Some of Jaksch's observations and interpretations cannot claim originality. Christopher Dawson in *Understanding Europe*, for one, although starting from a different basic philosophy, arrives at similar conclusions. On the other hand, because of the years of his wartime exile in London, where the author followed closely the policy of the Czechoslovak government in exile and maintained contact with the political forces in England, members of the war cabinet included, he is in a position to contribute hitherto unknown details. In this way he implements the results of former research and calls for a revision of previously conceived opinions. For the student who drew his information mainly from earlier published works, e.g., E. Wiskeman, *Czechs and Germans, Prologue to War* (Oxford University Press, 1938, 1940), or R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (London, 1944), it will be, indeed, indispensable to consult Jaksch's book in order to form a well-balanced and unbiased opinion. The work is certainly a political book; but so are most historical studies in one way or the other. The author has a political message which he wants to prove with solid historic arguments. His main point amounts to the thesis: the present fate of the Danubian area behind the Iron Curtain does not allow any fatalistic explanation; on the contrary, it was caused by inexculpable error, ignorance, and an outright betrayal of humanistic ideals. In his concluding chapter, "The European Balance-Sheet," the author endorses for the future "an international application of democratic rules" (p. 445). While this is a respectable blueprint, taking things as they are, it is hardly a working proposition for the foreseeable future.

Compared with many other similar publications, whether in English or German, the book under review is in one particular respect in the opinion of this reviewer outstanding and almost unique, viz., it tries to be fully objective in its appraisal and criticism and, as a rule, does full justice even

to the opponents. It is the work of a thoroughly honest and unselfish man who throughout his life engaged in a clean fight for the ideals in which he sincerely believed, earnestly trying for a synthesis between national loyalty, international solidarity, and humanistic ideals. Jaksch's presentation would, perhaps, be even more convincing had he found it possible to discuss Eduard Benes in a more detached manner. Whatever may be said about the former Czechoslovak president's methods and political ideas—and in retrospect much can, indeed, be said about them from a central European view—the part he played should not be overrated. Instrumental as he certainly was in the shaping of central European politics, he hardly ever, not even in his heyday as president of the League Assembly in Geneva, could have assumed the decisive leading role attributed to him by his friends as well as his enemies. Singling out any individual as the protagonist of the catastrophe seems to this reviewer an oversimplification. Political trends in the period between the two wars were not decided in Prague, or Geneva, but in London, Paris, and after 1933 in Berlin and Moscow. Political figures like Benes or Henlein could not possibly be more than minor, supporting actors on the international scene. Of course, there is still a substantial difference between Benes as the statesman and diplomat and the self-styled provincial party boss Konrad Henlein who is no less responsible for the fate of the Sudeten Germans than Benes or Hitler.

Some of the author's points are open to question, e.g., the theory that democratic action within, or with the co-operation of Czechoslovakia, could have stopped Hitler as late as 1937 and afterwards; or that a different policy by Benes could have prevented Munich; or that the Sudeten Germans in their majority were rather enthusiastic Austrians than Pan-Germans. The rediscovery of Austria is of a more recent date. The author is certainly right in most vehemently denying any collective guilt of the Sudeten Germans. Moreover, the collapse of their democratic strongholds—and this includes the bulk of their Social Democratic as well as of their Christian social and agrarian liberal organization—can hardly be held against them. Small wonder that democratic resistance among the Sudeten Germans in 1938 could not prove itself stronger than democratic Germany had been in 1933 under the remarkably better international conditions of that time.

The final conclusions drawn by the author as to the background and results of the Potsdam agreement are wholly warranted; so also is the well documented appreciation of the intrinsically supranational character and the, comparatively speaking, liberal methods of defunct Austria-Hungary. Similar belated eulogies — among them those of Winston Churchill—if expressed forty years ago in Prague, Vienna, or London newspapers, on political platforms, or through other media of mass opinion,

could have changed the course of history. Even today they serve a worthy purpose as an intriguing if only abstract speculation. Among the English-speaking experts on central Europe, A. J. P. Taylor, the Oxford historian, still ranks high [*The Habsburg Monarchy*, (London, 1948)]. As late as July, 1946, Taylor, writing on Czechoslovakia for the *Manchester Guardian*, stated: ". . . at any rate, there is not a scrap of Russian interference, there is nothing in the nature of a secret police; there are no restrictions on freedom of movement or discussion" (p. 505). This was less than two years before the *coup d'état* in Prague, the enforced resignation of Benes, and the suicide of the Czechoslovak foreign minister, Jan Masaryk. It is, indeed, time for a revision of historical writing on central Europe such as initiated by Wenzel Jaksch whose scholarly endeavor deserves high credit and attention.

KURT V. SCHUSCHNIGG

Saint Louis University

AMERICAN HISTORY

Louisiana The Pelican State. By Edwin Adams Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 356. $4.95.)

The head of the Department of History at Louisiana State University and chief consultant to the Louisiana Archives and Records Commission has produced the first comprehensive story of the state since the appearance in 1949 of Garnie William McGinty's *A History of Louisiana*. Dr. Davis divided his work into eight main parts, each of which treats chronologically a period of the history of the state with balanced emphases on political, economic, and governmental life along with cultural, educational, and religious developments. In the first part, following an introduction on the geography and topography of Louisiana and touching on its flora and fauna (after all, the title of the book bears the name of the state bird), the author devotes another brief section to the Indian tribes found in Louisiana by the first white settlers. Then follow accounts of the evolution of the region as a French colony, a Spanish colony, an American territory, an ante-bellum state, and a state of the Confederacy. The last two parts of the book are titled "Days of Old Louisiana, 1877-1920" and "Modern Louisiana." Numerous maps and pertinent illustrations are distributed throughout the volume. Since Dr. Davis apparently intended his book to be a popular history of his adopted state, he omitted footnotes, bibliography, and references. The index is adequate but not exhaustive. In the preface he admits that in the main he relied on secondary sources.

In at least two areas—education and religion—these secondary sources seem at times to have rendered the author a disservice. They did not supply him with the accurate and objective information which would have made

his history more scholarly and perceptive. E. g., his allusion to the first school in Louisiana (p. 78) does not agree with the findings of other historians. His appraisal of the educational endeavors of the Ursulines and their policies (p. 126) is hardly a fair one, especially in the light of their 232 years of uninterrupted service to education in New Orleans. On page 191 is found the gratuitous statement: "It was some years before enough Protestants moved to the state to pass legislation for a public-school system." The expression "parochial school" is used loosely and even anachronistically several times. And the reader need be neither historian nor educator to question the following assertion: "Public schools made more progress in New Orleans and in the northern and western parts of the state than in South Louisiana, for many south Louisianians still favored parochial or church schools" (p. 260). Other inaccuracies have crept into the book: The parish church of St. Louis is called a cathedral long before it was raised to that rank; no reference is made to the fact that the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas was established in 1793 while the impression is left that the first diocese in the area was erected in 1815; the Knights of Peter Claver are called a branch of the Knights of Columbus, etc. The book reads well, but it would read better if these and other slips were corrected in the next edition.

HENRY C. BEZOU

St. Patrick's Church
New Orleans

Relations with the Indians of the Plains, 1857-1861. Edited by Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume IX.] (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1959. Pp. 310. $9.50.)

The documents printed in this excellent volume recount the military campaigns against the Indians in western Nebraska and Kansas and eastern Colorado in the years just prior to the Civil War. These campaigns were minor clashes with the redman which were preliminary to the more significant troubles of later years. In 1857 the attack was centered on the hostile Cheyennes, and expeditions were dispatched along the Platte and Arkansas Rivers to chastise the Indians. It was an unexciting campaign. One encounter dispersed the Indians, and there was little follow up. In the two succeeding years there was relative quiet, but the Indians grew more restless as the gold rush to the Pike's Peak area assumed major proportions. And in 1860 the raids of the Comanches and Kiowas necessitated expeditions to keep them in check. The establishment of Fort Wise (later called Fort Lyon) on the upper Arkansas in 1860 and the treaty signed there with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes in 1861 mark the end of the period under consideration.

For the student of the West, the interest of the volume lies less in the actual Indian fighting than in the conditions of living and fighting in the dry and treeless plains. The problems of supplying the troops, of crossing rivers with wagon trains, of diverting stampeding buffaloes, of hunting water for animals and men, of keeping contact with headquarters and with one's family—these are the details that give fascination to the story.

The selections vary in interest and readability. Some, like the routine reports sent to higher headquarters by Colonel E. V. Sumner, Major John Sedgwick, and other officers, are brief and official in tone. Others, like the journal of P. G. Lowe (who was in charge of the wagon train for the 1857 campaign) and the longer reports of the army officers, are full of details about life on a march over the plains. The personal letters of Major Sedgwick to his sister add interesting side-lights to the skeleton-dry journal of Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart for the campaign of 1860. The editors stay well in the background, perhaps, too much so. Aside from brief introductions to the several sections of the book and identification of army officers and other persons, there is little editorial comment. Evaluation of the documents is almost entirely lacking. The book, matching the others in the series, is finely printed and brings together for convenient use documents previously unpublished as well as some which have appeared in print before.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA
Marquette University

The Presidential Election of 1880. By Herbert J. Clancy, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 294. $4.00)

Unlike the celebrated Hayes-Tilden contest which preceded it, or the Cleveland-Blaine mud-slinging siege which followed it, the Garfield-Hancock election of 1880 has suffered from relative neglect. No longer, however, is this the case. Father Clancy's fine monograph, a worthy addition to the publisher's series, Jesuit Studies, does not confine itself to illuminating the events of the nominating conventions and the succeeding campaign; it also sheds needed light on the hitherto rather muddied and inglorious political picture of this unheroic age. He has steeped himself in the manuscript sources of the Library of Congress, and his thoroughgoing researches have been richly rewarded.

Some captious critics may feel that the introductory chapter of twenty-one pages is redundant, since the political outlines of the Reconstruction era are assumed to be well known by the small scholarly community of prospective readers. As a matter of fact, this reviewer found this chapter to be simultaneously the most ample and incisive summary of the on-stage and back-stage maneuvering of these years ever presented. Like all other chapters, it reveals a masterly blending of manuscripts and printed mono-

graphs. It becomes obvious that the author has digested the classic works of Nevins, Muzzey, Barnard, and Sievers on the luminaries of the period. He has, however, left us a sufficiently valuable deposit of historical information to classify his contribution as original. We are made aware, e. g., that the stereotyped treatment of intra-Republican factionalism as the "Stalwart vs. Half-Breed" antithesis is more convenient than accurate, since neither designation applies to the Blaineites. James A. Garfield did not emerge overnight in the "dark horse" tradition. As a potential Republician standard bearer an effort to secure his nomination was quietly but carefully launched prior to the convention, and had acquired much strength by balloting time. The effort to nominate Grant for a third time is also clearly adumbrated. Father Clancy refuses also to ignore bigotry when and where it appeared, as it did on several occasions throughout the convention and campaign, to the mutual disadvantage of Catholics and General Hancock.

The purity of Garfield's Protestantism was undiluted by any gesture of kindness to "Romanism," and even Methodists were satisfied that there could be no alcholic content in such a concentrated potion. Father Clancy's estimate of "Honest John" Kelly, incidentally, is far more generous than those of Nevins or Hirsch. A Garfield who had enjoyed a *quid pro quo* relationship with railroad promoters in his career was probably not infinitely superior on the plane of public ethics to those bosses whose concern was the immigrant's welfare rather than that of corporation stockholders. In conclusion, a gap in the history of our presidential elections has been well filled, and this reviewer hopes that Father Clancy's superiors may find it possible to grant him an opportunity to pursue a study of the Garfield-Arthur administration.

GEORGE L. A. REILLY
Seton Hall University

Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952. By Paul A Varg (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 335. $6.00).

John Hay has been quoted as having said at the turn of this century that whoever understood China had the key to the next five centuries. According to Mr. Varg, an associate professor of history at Ohio State University, neither the Protestant missionary nor the American people and their diplomats have ever done this with any success. The picture presented of the modern Protestant missionary effort is one of failure, frustration, and discouragement. The author's central theme is that this was caused by the fact that the missionary failed to perceive that the two cultures involved were basically different. To him the misionary was unwilling to concede that the "mores of one society have a *raison d'etre* in that society and that phases

of one culture cannot be transmitted to another culture except when that which is transmitted becomes meaningful to the members of the other society in terms of their own experience." He concludes that the Christian Church in China met no generally recognized needs and so remained largely an esoteric enterprise without roots in the Chinese soil. The recognized needs, according to the author, are more in the economic and political area than in the spiritual. As a result the Chinese Communists who had better adapted their program to these needs succeeded in overthrowing the Kuomingtang. It is still a bit early to claim a victory for the Chinese Communists even though they have been in power ten years. Much of the author's research was done in the period before the Communists came to power, and in the light of all the conflicting reports coming out of China it is still too early to determine whether China will swallow the Communists or whether the Communists will swallow China.

Although the author has concentrated his main effort on the subject of the American Protestant missionary, he continually uses the term Christianity. The impression given is that Christianity in general in China, whether Protestant or Catholic, has been unsuccessful and has been plagued with the same general difficulties. In addition to the cultural problem there were those of paternalism, racism, sectarianism, theological controversies between fundamentalists and modernists, and lastly western imperialism. Mr. Varg believes that the missionaries failed to convince the Chinese that they were not part and parcel of western imperialism even though a determined effort to do this was made after World War I. One criticism that can be advanced against this book is its rather relativistic picture of Christianity. There is a universality to Christianity which is given little emphasis. The research behind the work is extensive. Archives of Protestant missionary groups have been combed along with their periodicals. Numerous interviews were held with the missionaries themselves. The author states that he is an objective outsider. This is true; he does not write from any particular view point Protestant or otherwise. In this there is value for he avoided the pitfall of many writers about the missionary effort, including some Catholics who tend to consider the movement in a vacuum. Mr. Varg's conclusions are disturbing, but they deserve a hearing.

University of Notre Dame ARTHUR L. HENNESSY, JR.

Massachusetts People and Politics 1919-1933. By J. Joseph Huthmacher. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press at the Belknap Press. 1959. Pp. 328. $6.50.)

This book is a study of one state's political history from the end of World War I to the inception of the New Deal. More specificially it is an intensive

analysis of how Massachusetts was transformed from a Republican to a Democratic state. Such works fill a real need in the field of political history, for the decentralized nature of the American party structure makes it risky business to attempt generalizations about national politics without consulting close studies done at the state level. It should be said at the outset that Mr. Huthmacher's contribution, based on the best possible primary source material and perceptive in its insights, is a first rate job.

Significant economic and cultural changes took place in Massachusetts between the Civil War and the end of World War I. An understanding of the nature of these changes is essential for a full comprehension of what happened politically during the decade of the 1920's. As the author carefully points out, by the end of this period the state had become highly industrialized and urbanized. Moreover, its ethnic composition was altered substantially by the influx of immigrants. There were obvious political implications in the cleavages between the Irish, Italian, Poles, Jews, and Negroes on one side, and the old stock Yankees on the other. What emerged was a formidable Democratic coalition with the Irish playing the lead parts. Democratic success, however, was not to be acieved either soon or easily. The budding coalition collapsed completely in the presidential election of 1920 due to the defections of the ethnic groups sorely disillusioned with the post-war settlements. Particularly did the Irish go on strike in this election as evidenced by the fact that the Republicans carried even the city of Boston.

Actually the Democratic coalition would not become a winning combination until 1926. Running for the Senate in that year it was David I. Walsh who skillfully mobilized the forces which produced a political change. Mr. Huthmacher's analysis here reveals that a new and powerful coalition consisting of Irish and Yankee Democrats, advanced liberals, labor leaders, the New Immigrants, and even some old stock Republicans, turned the tide. While the election had many aspects of a personal victory, the coalition remained intact through 1928 and 1932. Indeed, not until 1952 would a Republican presidential candidate carry the state. The author also shrewdly observes that the new Democratic force lacked the positive reform impulse of the Progressive Era. Rather its motivating force was a negative sort of discontent with such things as 100% Americanism, economic depression, prohibition, and immigrant restriction. Worthy of mention, too, is Mr. Huthmacher's evaluation of why the Progressive movement died out in Massachusetts. He ascribes four reasons: (1) fewer issues; (2) the crusaders were tired out; (3) disillusionment; (4) the conservative outlook of labor leaders. The Bay State, then, like the rest of the nation during the 1920's was in the grip of normalcy and political repose.

It is scarcely criticism to conclude that many of the political and social issues in Massachusetts during this period can stand further probing. For

those who may engage in such research this book will be the basic reference. An epilogue and tables of election statistics for 1916-1952 are valuable and helpful features.

PAUL T. HEFFRON

Boston College

Henry Adams: The Middle Years. By Ernest Samuels. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 514. $7.50.)

The past ten years have seen a spate of works dealing with the enigmatic Henry Adams, the results of the enterprise of students of history, art, and literature. With *Henry Adams: The Middle Years,* Professor Samuels of the Department of English of Northwestern University has provided the second of a projected three-volume biography that will be the most exhaustive study of Adams to have appeared. The author is the recipient of both the Bancroft Prize and the Francis Parkman Prize for his recent achievement. He has most successfully pursued his central theme, viz., "the interconnection between his [Adams'] life and writings."

This volume is of particular interest as it covers the period 1877-1890, thirteen important years in the two decades 1871-1892, that are largely passed over in *The Education.* It was in this era that Adams and his wife established their salon on Lafayette Square and participated enthusiastically in the society of the capital's elite. From this vantage they pursued with distinction their common avocation of critics of the Washington scene. But such leisurely enjoyment of the human comedy ended with the mental breakdown and tragic suicide of Mrs. Adams in 1884. There followed Adams' attempted escape into Nirvana (as he characteristically conceived it) in distant Japan. But flight was useless, and Adams returned to the home designed for the couple by H. H. Richardson but completed only after Mrs. Adams' death. The conclusion depicts Adams' difficult parting from his intimate friend, Elizabeth Cameron, and his embarkation for the south seas in 1890. Throughout, the complexity of Adams' character emerges—the self-pity and the resignation (he thought Tennyson's *Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After* " 'undignified even if the universe were shrivelling' "), the tolerance and the provincialism (echoing the anthropologist, Lewis H. Morgan, he thought Japanese women sexless), the hypercritical attitude and the sustained element of patriotism (Adams never approved of Henry James' self-imposed exile).

Professor Samuels studies the progress of Adams' historical method in this period, indicating the roots of his later elaborate meta-history. Adams' first biographical study, *The Life of Albert Gallatin;* his *John Randolph* in the American Statesmen Series; and the masterful nine-volume *History,* revealing the tension between Adams, the historical determinist, and

Adams, the New England moralist, are skillfully examined. Of equal importance are the analyses of the novels, *Democracy* and *Esther,* revealing Adams' political and religious dissent from the prevailing orthodoxies. One statement is somewhat misleading—to say that "the well-oiled veterans' lobby bullied him [Cleveland] into signing pension applications at a faster pace than any of his predecessors" (p. 157) leaves unacknowledged the fact that Cleveland was the first executive since the war to veto large numbers of these bills, and to call attention to the crying abuse of fraudulent Civil War pension claims. It should also be pointed out that the device of documentation which consolidates source material by paragraph is not the most satisfactory technique. But such criticisms are of small consequence compared to the merit of this important study of one whose whole career was a profound if biased commentary on the course of American democracy.

RAYMOND J. CUNNINGHAM

The Johns Hopkins University

W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis. By Francis L. Broderick. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 259. $5.00.)

The publication of this volume is timely indeed, appearing as it does when the nation is engaged in what many Americans believe to be the final phase of the protracted struggle to extend full citizenship to American Negroes. In telling the story of DuBois' life—a life still incomplete after ninety-one years—Broderick has inevitably had to treat a great deal of the Negro problem and efforts to solve it during the past fifty years, for these were the matters to which the subject of this study devoted his life and his talents. This biography, the first full length study, deals with a personality recognized as one of the three most famous Negro leaders of the past seventy-five years. Perhaps, the fact that he has been such a controversial figure has discouraged earlier biographical effort, for throughout his career Dr. DuBois has been the center of controversy and has engaged in numerous "feuds" and "spats." The most famous of these were with Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute, Oswald Garrison Villard, one-time president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Walter White, former executive secretary of the same organization. Even in the later years of a still productive life, controversy has gathered around him once more over his highly critical expressions on aspects of American foreign policy.

In the preface to the work, Dr. Broderick declares that his intention is "neither to exalt nor to demean Dr. DuBois" but "to understand him in the context of his times." He has spent more than a decade of painstaking

research examining the mass of manuscript and published materials relating to Dr. DuBois, including a portion of Dr. DuBois' personal files. This effort has produced a biography which is informative, objective, and well balanced.

The volume is divided into nine chapters of which the earlier chapters (especially "From Tower to Arena" and "Entente with White Liberals") are, in the reviewer's opinion, the best written. The picture of DuBois which emerges is that of a man who, though usually cold and aloof, self-assured, and frequently intolerant of those who differed with him, was, nevertheless, a man of principle with a sense of mission and determination to guide Negro development and organize Negro effort for an uncompromising demand for equal rights as American citizens. Whether in the role of teacher, scholar, lecturer, or editor this mission has been persistently followed since 1894. Negro cultural development and economic well-being were, in DuBois' opinion, essentials for Negro advancement and these, in turn, depended upon education and leadership from the "Talented Tenth," among which he counted himself. Dr. DuBois was wedded to no one method for achieving Negro rights; entente with white liberals, racial separatism, direct action—all were advocated or threatened. The method was altered as time and circumstances demanded.

Firmly convinced that white America would react favorably to the Negro problem if ignorance of it could be dispelled and the problem presented in a favorable light, Dr. DuBois became a tireless writer to accomplish this. He has published eighteen volumes: twenty long pamphlets; hundreds of editorials, written chiefly between 1910-1934 while he was editor of the *Crisis*, the organ of the N.A.A.C.P., and more than twenty-five articles which appeared in such popular periodicals as *Dial, Colliers, Independent, Atlantic Monthly*, and *New Republic*. The author finds among these works little that is "first-class," being of the opinion that DuBois was at his best as a propagandist above which level most of his writings failed to rise. After the mid-1930's DuBois became increasingly interested in world socialism and in the world peace movement with the result that he has surrendered domestic racial leadership to a group of new leaders who have become increasingly vocal.

This biography can be read with profit by both the general reader and the serious student of American history. The author's style is clear and readable, and his judgments, though sometimes harsh, are generally fair. There is an excellent bibliographical essay and an adequate index. The serious student will, perhaps, be irritated with end-notes rather than footnotes, a deference to the general reader.

BERNARD H. NELSON

District of Columbia Teachers College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The REVIEW wishes to extend its sincere congratulations and best wishes to Martin R. P. McGuire on his appointment as secretary of the editorial board of the forthcoming Catholic encyclopedia which will be published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company in conjunction with the Catholic University of America. Professor McGuire is head of the University's Department of Greek and Latin and has served as an editor of the REVIEW since January, 1940. We are pleased to state that he will continue with our journal to which he has made so many outstanding contributions during the past twenty years.

It was in June, 1659, that François de Montmorency-Laval arrived in Quebec as vicar apostolic over a territory that embraced not only New France but all of the North American continent with the exception of the Spanish and English colonies. Three articles commemorative of this tercentenary of the Canadian hierarchy appear in the *Dublin Review* (Autumn, 1959). The first is an address by Paul Cardinal Léger, Archbishop of Montreal, describing the career of Laval. The second, *Ecclesia Canadiana*, is an historical conspectus of the growth of the Church in Canada from these early times, written by Conrad M. J. F. Swan, professor of history in Assumption University, Windsor. In the third Gerard B. Phelan traces the history and achievements of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto.

A congress of the Federation of Catholic Universities of Latin America was held in Lima during the past September. At the meetings, presided over by the Most Reverend Fidel Mario Tubino Mongilardi, Rector of the Catholic University of Lima, and attended by the rectors or delegates of twenty Catholic universities, the subjects discussed included: the social function of the university; the relations between humanism and science; and educational planning in general. The practical result of the congress was the strengthening of the union of the Catholic universities of Latin America, the formulation of plans for student and professor exchanges, and the decision to engage in more intensive scientific investigation. To help carry these designs into effect a special secretariat of information was created with headquarters at the Catholic University of Puerto Rico. It was also decided that the seat of the federation would be the Catholic University of Chile.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held at St. Michael's College in Toronto on October 3-4, 1959. Among the speakers in the English section was Franklin A. Walker of Loyola University, Chicago, whose topic was "Peter Chaadaev and Catholic Unity." At the closing dinner John Tracy Ellis conveyed the greetings of the American Catholic Historical Association to its sister association on the completion of twenty-five years of service to North American historians.

At the Stanford University Conference on Latin America, October 9-11, Alexander Miller, professor of religion at Stanford, served as chairman for the session devoted to religion. Discussing the position of Catholicism in Latin America, John F. Lenahan, M.M., noted that it is characteristic of each of the twenty countries to have a minority of practical Catholics and a very numerous body of nominal Catholics. One reason for this, he suggested, is the historical fact that the Spanish endeavor to transport the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the old world to the new was interrupted by separation from Spain, coming sooner than expected and resulting in an insufficient number of native priests and a vast volume of religious illiteracy. Maryknoll priests, now numbering approximately 200 in Latin America, are working to correct this situation by providing relief from poverty, medical aid, and by training catechists.

John Mackay, President Emeritus of Princeton Theological Seminary and the World Presbyterian Alliance, and author of *The Other Spanish Christ,* spoke on Protestantism in Latin America. After expressing his indebtedness to Hispanic culture and to the classical religion of Spain, especially the sixteenth-century mystics, Dr. Mackay noted that Latin America represents the vastest area on earth to which the term "secularism" might be applied, with religion simply not influencing thought and life. Among the reasons for this he stressed the historical break in religious consciousness which, in fact, represents a triple breach: (a) between Hispanic and classical Catholicism, a rupture which is thought by some Catholics to justify the competition of Protestantism; there is a tendency to use faith for political purposes, and a cult of death, with the figure of Christ representing death, not life; (b) between religion and culture, with the lack of a religious world view which is sufficient to generate cultural vitality; partially as a result of this, superstition is rampant, with ten million spiritists in Brazil; (c) between religious professionalism and human idealism. Among the tasks which face religion in Latin America, the speaker singled out the need to restore the lost classical tradition which is common to Protestants and Catholics and in which Christ stands not for death but vitality and life.

Speaking on the Jewish influence in Latin America, Benno Weiser, Director of the Latin American Department, Jewish Agency for Israel, recalled that in the colonial era Jews had to convert to Christianity to survive and consequently within a few generations many ceased to realize they were Jews. Today, however, the situation is different, with little or no tension existing between Jews and Catholics. Latin American Jewery is, therefore, on the whole, a happy Jewery.

Pope John XXIII, on October 11, 1959, went to the Pontifical North American College on the Janiculum in Rome to observe the first centenary of its foundation. After his Latin address the Holy Father spoke briefly in English. Continuing the interest in the college shown by his predecessors, especially Pius IX and Pius XII, Pope John said: "During these hundred years the North American College has kept pace with the growth and progress of the Church at home. We render heartfelt thanks to Almighty God for the manifold benefits bestowed upon it, and for the copious spiritual fruits which have crowned the priestly ministry of its alumni." In conclusion the Holy Father announced that the cause for the beatification of Mother Elizabeth Seton, "that flower of American piety," had "already passed the ante-preparatory stage and that, consequently, there is reason to hope that in a relatively short time the cause may pass through the remaining stages and be brought to a happy conclusion."

Alma College at Los Gatos, California, the house of theology for the California and Oregon Provinces of the Society of Jesus, celebrated its silver jubilee on October 14. The first classes were held on September 10, 1934, in a residence which was part of the Tevis estate purchased the previous year. In August, 1945, Alma received from the Holy See the rank of a pontifical faculty, and in April, 1958, the theologate was affiliated with the University of Santa Clara. Of the 637 alumni who have been ordained from the college fifty-seven have served on the foreign missions and forty-four as chaplains in the armed services. Today the community numbers 135 with forty-eight priests, seventy-six scholastics, and eleven brothers who represent seven provinces of the Jesuit Order.

The 100th anniversary of the unification of Italy was commemorated at Butler Library of Columbia University by an exhibition of historical Italian manuscripts and documents. The exhibition was arranged by a committee of which Howard R. Marraro, professor of Italian at Columbia, was chairman, and was sponsored by the Columbia University Libraries and the Society for Italian Historical Studies with the co-operation of the Istituto Italiano di Cultura.

A meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia was held on November 8 at St. Charles Seminary in Philadelphia to inspect the collections now being assembled and catalogued under the direction of Bartholomew F. Fair. They include files of Catholic newspapers and journals, pamphlets, parish histories and books, as well as other materials. Scholars wishing to consult the material should contact Father Fair at the seminary.

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Pope Leo XIII the Department of History of Loyola University, Chicago, will conduct a symposium on March 18, 1960. The speakers and their topics on this occasion will be: Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The Church and the World in the Nineteenth Century"; Joseph N. Moody, "Leo XIII and the Social Crisis"; James D. Collins, "Leo XIII and the Philosophical Approach to Modernity"; Louis Halperin, "The Vatican and Europe"; Gustave Weigel, S.J., "Leo XIII and Contemporary Theology"; Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., "Leo XIII and the American Church." Further information may be obtained by writing to the chairman of the program, Edward T. Gargan, Department of History, Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Illinois.

Continuing a program begun in 1945, The American University offered during the summer of 1959 its well established Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives. The institute was again sponsored by the National Archives and Records Survey, the Library of Congress and the Maryland Hall of Records; Ernst Posner, professor of history in The American University, and Theodore R. Schellenberg, assistant archivist of the United States, once more served as directors. The institute, which provides lectures, discussions, and intensive laboratory experience through internship work in the co-operating agencies, will be repeated during the four-week period beginning June 6 and ending July 1, 1960. Persons engaged in the care and custody of university and college archives may select to do their internship projects in the archives of The American University. A folder giving detailed information may be obtained by writing to Professor Posner at The American University, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The last major untapped source of materials for the Committee on the John Carroll Papers has been made available through the generosity of Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. His Eminence has presented to the American Catholic Historical Association almost 500 pages of photocopies of letters of Archbishop Carroll in the archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide at Rome where they were acquired

by Henry J. Browne, professor of history in Cathedral College, New York, a member of the editorial committee for the Carroll Papers, while he was on a Fulbright research grant for the year 1957-1958. The Academy of American Franciscan History received a positive microfilm copy in appreciation of its aid in the filming of these documents and the original negative will be preserved in the Archbishop Corrigan Library at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York. The project of collecting, editing, and publishing the writings of the first American Catholic bishop is one that has received the endorsement of the National Historical Publications Commission.

The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley has acquired a large collection of documents pertaining to the earliest period of California history. Up to the present time the extreme scarcity of contemporary sources for this period limited the possibilities of research. Most significant among the newly acquired documents are three journals of Captain Rivera y Moncada, member of the first expedition into Upper California in 1769 and governor of the new colony from 1774 to 1776. These journals give a day-to-day account of affairs and conditions at Monterey, the capital; they also reveal for the first time the existence of eight previously unknown letters of Father Junípero Serra. Also included in this collection are several documents dated 1779-80 which relate the preparations for the founding and settlement of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. Other materials concerning early California history are reports for the year 1826 drawn up by the resident Franciscan at each of the twenty-one missions. Two letters in the new collection, moreover, were written by Father Eusebio Kino in 1698 and 1703; they are said to be of considerable importance in the history of the Arizona-Sonora frontier, for no documents of the Jesuit missionary and explorer for the year 1703 were known to exist till now. Finally, new light may be shed on Franciscan missionary activities in New Mexico and northern Mexico at the middle of the eighteenth century by a valuable series of mission reports.

The first issue of Volume V of the *Journal of World History*, the pilot project of UNESCO for the drafting of a history of the scientific and cultural development of mankind, contains two articles dealing with particular aspects of church history. Monsignor Cristiani, honorary dean at the Institut Catholique of Lyons, examines the topic, "La tolérance et l'intolérance de l'Eglise en matière doctrinale, depuis les premiers siècles jusqu' à nos jours." Canon E. Delaruelle, of the Institut Catholique of Toulouse, investigates the nature of "La Spiritualité aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles."

The famous passage of Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses,* III, 3, 2, which speaks of the *potentior principalitas* of the See of Rome, has recently been the subject of discussion by P. Nautin in *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* 151 (1957), 37-78, by B. Botte in *Irénikon,* 30 (1957), 156-163, and by J. Lebourlier in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* 43 (1959), 261-272.

The Angelicum, pontifical international university directed by the Dominicans at Rome, is celebrating its golden jubilee. In an address over the Vatican Radio A. McNicholls, O.P., traced its lineage back to the College of St. Thomas, where the sacred sciences were taught for almost 300 years. This college, in turn, had its origins in the priory of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, already a celebrated center of theological studies in the thirteenth century. This radio account of its colorful past is published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* XCII (September, 1959), 170-174.

The *Responsiones* of Gregory I are of singular importance, since they are the replies of the Pope to St. Augustine of Canterbury that reveal Roman interest in the problems of local episcopal government. Nineteen years ago Dom Suso Brechter questioned their authenticity and concluded that they were a single spurious *libellus* (*Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen; eine historiographische Studie* [Münster, 1941]). At that time due to the war the book was unnoticed in England, as was also the long criticism of it made by the Bollandist, Paul Grosjean, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana,* LX (1942), 287-292. Since then Margaret Deansley, professor emeritus of the University of London, in collaboration with Father Grosjean, has submitted the documents to further study, and while acknowledging indebtedness to the thorough investigation of Dom Brechter, she believes that fresh evidence points again to Gregorian authorship. Both insist that each *Responsio* should be judged separately, in which case, with the exception of an obvious interpolation of 721, and some doubts about the last two replies, the *libellus* can be considered as Gregory's [Margaret Deansley and Paul Grosjean, S.J., "The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St. Augustine," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* X (April, 1959), 1-49].

Celestino Piana, O.F.M., has edited some statutes of reform drawn up in 1502 for the Franciscan friars studying at Paris. They were enacted by the minister general, Aegidius Delphin, at the solicitation of Alexander VI, Louis XII, and the French *parlement.* This document is another important testimony to efforts at reform among religious orders during

the French Renaissance ["Gli Statuti per la riforma dello Studio di Parigi, a. 1502," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* LII (January, 1959), 43-122].

J. Martin Cleary of St. Illtyd's College, Cardiff, who has done a good deal of research and writing in Welsh recusant history has recently published a pamphlet entitled, *A Checklist of Welsh Students in the Seminaries. Part I, 1568-1603,* which gives, along with an introductory essay, carefully compiled data on 100 of these students. This work will prove helpful to students of recusant history, for the number, identity, location, and background of the many students from the British Isles who were forced to pursue their studies for the priesthood on the continent are not always easily come by. Mr. Cleary's pamphlet is published by the Cardiff Newman Circle, 46A Park Place, Cardiff, Wales, and sells for 2s 6d.

The Service Center for Teachers of History of the American Historical Association is making a genuine contribution to both teachers and students of history by its pamphlet series. The twenty-three pamphlets published to date on a variety of topics give excellent summaries of recent scholarship on such subjects as, e.g., *Nationalism, Interpreters and Interpretations* by Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the A.H.A., *The Background of the French Revolution* by Stanley J. Idzerda of Michigan State University, and *The American Frontier* by Ray Allen Billington of Northwestern University. The pamphlets, to quote the general introductory statement of George Barr Carson, Jr., are designed to contain "a concise summary of publications reflecting recent research and new interpretations in a particular field of history." While they are intended primarily for teachers of history at the secondary school level, they will likewise be useful to both undergraduate and graduate students who often experience as much difficulty in keeping up with the findings of contemporary scholarship outside their own special field as do the high school teachers. Individual copies of these pamphlets—which run to an average of about twenty-five or thirty pages—sell for fifty cents, but for orders of ten or more the price is ten cents each. They may be secured by addressing the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Lumen Vitae. International Review of Religious Education, edited in Brussels, devoted the English edition of its June, 1959, issue to the general subject, "Church History in Religious Education," with nine articles (all in English) by various authors. The issue can be secured through the American representative, Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland.

To mark the death of Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., which occurred on July 15, 1959, the editors of *Vita e Pensiero* have devoted the entire issue of August-September to articles treating various aspects of the famous Franciscan's long and full life. Distinguished Italian Catholics here study what he achieved in the spiritual field as a priest, a religious, and a director of souls, what he contributed to scholarship as a philosopher, psychologist, and educator, and what he accomplished as a man of action by founding the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart at Milan and by promoting the social weeks in Italy. At the end of this number is a bibliography containing not only Father Gemelli's books but also his articles published since 1914 in *Vita e Pensiero,* the review which he helped to found.

Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., has compiled another useful list of recent publications relating to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, as well as the history of other religious organizations ["Writings of the History of Religion in the United States, 1958," *Manuscripta,* III (July, 1959), 67-75]. In his introduction he mentions with praise two other surveys appearing in *Church History,* that evaluate the most notable works of the last ten years [Henry J. Browne, "American Catholic History: A Progress Report on Research and Study," XXVI (December, 1957), 372-380; and Robert T. Handy, "Survey of Recent Literature: American Church History," XXVII (June, 1958), 161-165].

Interesting as a contemporary criticism of Know-Nothing agitation is the letter of a Jewish congressman from Alabama, Philip Phillips, to the Mobile *Register,* dated July 4, 1855. While he argued against the assumption that Christianity in any form was an element of the American political system, he also castigated the intolerance of the zealots who would exclude Catholics from their due share in the government of the country. This letter, entitled "On the Religious Proscription of Catholics," is reprinted in *American Jewish Archives,* XI (October, 1959), 176-183.

On August 27, 1959, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin introduced a new series in American historiography entitled State Street Books, a trademark drawn from the Madison address of the publisher. The editorial staff aims to use this venture to provide the public with outstanding historical reprints and writings in a paper-back format at popular prices. Readers of the REVIEW will find much of interest in the initial volume of this series: *Crosier on the Frontier: A Life of John Martin Henni* by Peter Leo Johnson, professor of church history in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. Monsignor Johnson's work will be reviewed in a later issue of the REVIEW.

Vincent G. Tegeder, O.S.B., professor of American history in St. John's University, Collegeville, has been named president of the Upper Midwest History Conference for the coming year. The REVIEW is happy to congratulate Father Vincent, one of its advisory editors, on this well deserved recognition.

Colman J. Barry, assistant professor of history in St. John's University, Collegeville, was named executive secretary of the American Benedictine Academy and editor of the *American Benedictine Review* at a meeting of the academy held in Chicago on November 3. The appointment was occasioned by the resignation of Father Bonaventure Schwinn, O.S.B., who has held these posts since 1949. Readers of our REVIEW need no introduction to the scholarly background that Father Colman brings to his new task, for his achievements in the three volumes he has published since 1950 on various phases of American Catholic history, as well as his articles, reviews, and papers at meetings of learned societies are already well known in American historical circles. His most recent work, a two-volume collection of original sources entitled *Readings in Church History*, will be published by the Newman Press during the present year. He will likewise be one of the participants in the two-day symposium at the University of Minnesota on January 29-30 which will be devoted to immigration history in honor of Theodore C. Blegen who is retiring after twenty years as dean of the university's graduate school.

The American Benedictine Academy was founded in 1947 and includes at the present time representatives of thirty abbeys and priories and fifty convents in the United States. It is divided into six sections: sacred sciences, philosophy, social sciences, education-psychology, fine arts, and library science with each section holding biennial meetings at which research papers are read and seminars conducted. In order to enable Father Colman to centralize his activities the academy headquarters were moved this month to St. John's from St. Mary's Abbey in Newark, and at the end of this semester he will be relieved of the major portion of his teaching schedule so as to free him for travel to the various Benedictine houses in the United States in the interests of the academy and its quarterly journal. The REVIEW takes pleasure in congratulating the American Benedictine Academy on the selection of its new executive secretary and editor, and of wishing him success in this important undertaking for American Catholic scholarship.

Paul Horgan, President of the American Catholic Historical Association, is one of a half dozen leaders in scholarship and letters who has been invited by Wesleyan University to share in a visitors' program which

was inaugurated at the opening of the current academic year. The visitors are chosen with a view to their remaining for different periods ranging from a few days to a year during which it is intended that they will study, write, and engage in other creative activities, as well as being encouraged to lecture, conduct seminars, and act as tutors. The principal aim of the program is to help bridge the gap between the scholar and the man of affairs, and it is hoped that the program will ultimately lead to the founding of a center of advanced studies in non-technical fields at Wesleyan. Mr. Horgan is the author of a number of novels, short stories, and a history of the Rio Grande River which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1954.

Carl B. Cone, associate professor of history in the University of Kentucky, was elected "distinguished professor" for 1959-1960 by the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences at Lexington. The honor confers a free semester at full salary and Dr. Cone has spent the past few months in England doing research for the second volume of his work on Edmund Burke. During the coming semester he will be a visiting professor at Louisiana State University.

Charles Verlinden, professor of history in the University of Ghent, has been appointed director of the Academia Belgica in Rome.

Elizabeth P. Herbermann died on August 12 at the age of seventy-six. In 1916 Miss Herbermann was appointed secretary of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, a post she filled for forty years until her retirement in 1956. She was the daughter of Charles G. Herbermann, editor-in-chief of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

BRIEF NOTICES

Atti del XXXV Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. (Torino 1-4 settembre 1956). (Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. 1959. Pp. xxix, 374.)

This volume, published through the generosity of the Committee for the Celebration of the Centennial of the Congress of Paris, contains the transactions of the meeting of the thirty-fifth congress of the history of the Risorgimento which, quite appropriately, was held at Turin on September 1-4, 1956. The volume also contains the text of the scholarly paper presented by Professor Franco Valsecchi on the Italian problem in European diplomacy from 1849 to 1856, and the text of the thirty papers presented at the several sessions of the congress.

Professor Valsecchi sounded the keynote and set the high standards of the papers submitted. Taking as his subject the history of the Italian Risorgimento in the wider framework of European history, he enlarges the concept, which in the past has restricted the Risorgimento to a national, and at times even a regional, sphere as though it had been a local phenomenon, and views the Risorgimento instead as an integral and essential part of contemporary European history. He does so not merely in his study of the diplomatic aspects of the Risorgimento problem, but more as an important European event which greatly influenced the evolution of European history as a whole. Professor Valsecchi examines not only the role of the Risorgimento in the ideological and political framework of the century, but also the economic and social relations between Italy and the other European countries. Adopting a masterly and ingenious method, Valsecchi first analyzes the western alliances, their disintegration, the intervention of Piedmont, the Congress of Paris, and then concludes that in the belabored vigil of the first international experience, the policy of Cavour ultimately found the pathway that led to the achievement of Italy's independence and unification.

In unison with the general theme of the congress and of Valsecchi's fine treatment, the thirty papers dealt with many aspects of Italian and European politics of the period; only two may be said to deal with local Italian politics in their relation to the Crimean War. These are: Ada Annoni's "The Lombard Democrats and the Crimean War," and Carlo Baudi di Vesme's "The parliamentary crisis of Sardinia after Novara in its reality and in its foreign diplomatic evaluation." Almost all the other papers deal with the views and policies of European countries on the

Crimean War and the Congress of Paris and their relation to Italian history such, e.g., as Roger Aubert's "The Belgian government and the preliminaries of the Gaeta Conference."

It is regrettable that no paper was presented on the views and policies of the Vatican on the Crimean War and the Congress of Paris, and, too, no paper was presented on the strong and unselfish interest of the United States in the participation of Piedmont in the Crimean War and the Congress of Paris. Both subjects would have shed interesting reactions from two important but untapped sources. It is interesting and, at the same time, important to note that while most of the papers, of course, were in Italian, five were in French, and one in English. This should encourage our American scholars, who have difficulty in expressing themselves in Italian, to present scholarly papers at these meetings. (HOWARD R. MARRARO)

BARNETT, CLIFFORD R., *et al. Poland: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture.* (New York: Grove Press, Inc. 1958. Pp. 471. $2.45.)

This Evergreen paperback is part of the Survey of the World Series, which hopes to be a small reference library on specific countries in the world's major cultural areas. The handy volume on Poland contains much information hard to come by for the ordinary reader who may not read Polish. The table of contents illustrates the extent of the coverage: history, culture and society, geography, population, politics, finance, industry, agriculture, public health, education, and the arts. The chapters on literature and the arts should help dispel the notion that there is no Polish author other than Sienkiewicz and that there is no Polish composer besides Chopin. It is unfortunate, however, that the survey of Polish literature begins with the "romantic heritage," and thus omits some of the figures of even the eighteenth century, e.g., Ignacy Krasicki, the author of *Monachomachia*. Attached to the volume are also statistical tables dealing with population and economics; these tables try to compare the data as far back as 1921. Finally, a selected bibliography, to assist the curious reader, seems generally good, except for an occasional item, e.g., James T. Shotwell and Max M. Laserson's *Poland and Russia, 1919-1945*, a very bad book, indeed. Surprisingly, the late Robert H. Lord's definitive study on the partitions of Poland is omitted.

A volume that hopes in such small compass to cover so much ground inevitably commits errors of fact, e.g., stating that the Curzon Line was meant to be a border between Poland and Russia (p. 20). However, the reviewer wishes rather to point to two general misinterpretations of Polish history. First of all, there is the popular historiographical concept that identifies Polish history with Roman Catholicism. It cannot be emphasized

too much that for centuries Poland-Lithuania were multi-religious states that included Latin Catholics, Orthodox Christians under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Greek Catholics who accepted the authority of Rome, Armenian Christians with their own metropolitan in Lwow, Protestants, Jews whose great center in White Ruthenia provided the cultural tradition for Orthodox Jewry and whose pre-World War II school in Lublin attracted scholars from all over the world, and Moslem Tartars who were polonized in everything but religion. Secondly, in their treatment of recent events in Poland the author and his co-workers fell under the spell of the general optimism that greeted the assumption of power by Gomulka after the October Revolution in 1956. Too ready to accept Gomulka's testimony about the Polish way to Communism, the authors, like many Poles, failed to remember Gomulka's past, his training, and his ultimate ideological commitments. Nevertheless, the volume is a useful handbook of information on many phases of Polish history, culture, and society, and it gives a fairer treatment of Polish history than one finds in many manuals. (JAMES J. ZATKO)

BAUMAN, SISTER MARY BEATA. *A Way of Mercy: Catherine McAuley's Contribution to Nursing.* (New York: Vantage Press. 1958. Pp. 182. $3.75.)

Devotion to the sick has, indeed, become a "way of mercy" for which the daughters of Mother Catherine McAuley have become known the world over. In this slim volume the author has delineated the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy against a historical background of an Ireland and England beset with social ills that came with industrialization and the still-existent harsh religious penal code. Enough of the early life of Catherine McAuley is given to show how well she retained her religious faith in the face of the adverse religious surroundings into which she was placed after being orphaned in 1798. The main stress, however, is in the character of her work in preparing her first sisters for the profession of nursing.

A close reading of the excellent critical bibliographical essay (Appendix A) demonstrates a persistent interest in McAuleyana since the first volume on the congregation was published in 1847, just six years after the death of the foundress. The present work re-examines the material, particularly from the point of view of Mother McAuley's devotion to the sick. For this book, the first work emphasizing this point of view (p. 126), Sister Beata drew heavily on the constitutions of the congregation, as well as on letters and instructions of the foundress. There is valuable material in the four appendices which are supplemented by numerous illustrations of institutions of the congregation. Two minor typographical errors were

noted: the pagination on the contents page under the items "bibliography" and "index" should be 169 and 178 respectively. (SISTER MARY AUGUSTINE KWITCHEN)

BLINZLER, JOSEF. *The Trial of Jesus.* Translated by Isabel and Florence McHugh. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 312. $4.75.)

According to the tradition of the Gospels both Jew and Gentile share the responsibility for the condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. The viewpoint of the Gospels, however, tends to underscore more heavily Jewish responsibility and to judge more leniently the role of the Roman procurator. Contrary to a common opinion, the action taken by the Sanhedrin in the trial of Jesus appears to have followed the legal procedures in vogue at the time. At least, it cannot be proved that the actions of the court were legally irregular. The evidence indicates, however, that the aim of the court was to seek a conviction at all costs, independently of a valid juridical foundation for condemnation of the accused. Both the Sanhedrin and those who inspired its attitude of judgment bear the immediate responsibility for the unjust conviction. Less involved, but still seriously guilty of the result, were those citizens of Jerusalem who permitted themselves to be persuaded to demand of the Roman procurator a ratification of the sentence of the Sanhedrin. The victim of this harassment, Pontius Pilate, must be adjudged guilty of serious injustice in allowing political considerations to prevail over just judgment.

The patience and skill of Dr. Blinzler's scholarship have fully documented these conclusions on the trial. The English translation, achieved with competence, has been made from the revised German edition of 1955. The author has in effect shown that in death Jesus affirmed a constant teaching of His life: guilt is essentially human, not Jewish or Roman. The execution of Jesus leaves no obstacle to fulfillment between Jew and Christian of the core of His moral teaching: love of God and of neighbor. (CHRISTIAN P. CEROKE)

BRETT-JAMES, ANTHONY. *General Graham, Lord Lynedoch.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc. 1959. Pp. xv, 368. $8.50.)

In this biography of Thomas Graham of Balgowan (1748-1844), the author has attempted to give long overdue praise to a Scot who entered the British army as a lieutenant colonel at the age of forty-six, by raising a regiment of infantry, and who, through many exertions and services in the wars against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, rose to the rank of lieutenant general and became the Duke of Wellington's second-in-command. He was also made a peer and a Knight Commander of the Order

of the Bath. Graham's military experiences make for an interesting, swift moving, and descriptive account. His tours of duty with the British army or with its allies took him to France, Italy, Minorca, Sicily, Malta, Egypt, Sweden, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. Over a third of the book is devoted to the campaign in Portugal and Spain under Sir John Moore and the Duke of Wellington. In addition to these two men the reader meets such friends of Graham as Lord Nelson, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, and Count Joseph Radetzky. Footnotes are mostly of the descriptive type, but sources are generally identifiable through information in the text, and there is a bibliography of the manuscript and printed materials used. An index, plates, maps, and an attractive printing job help to enhance this useful biography of a "jewel of a man." (HAROLD D. LANGLEY)

CLARK, G. KITSON. *Guide for Research Students Working on Historical Subjects.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. 56. $1.25.)

This brief guide assumes the conditions present at the University of Cambridge, but most of the advice given is of such broad application as to be useful to students doing historical research elsewhere. The author's intention and the size of the work preclude an exhaustive treatment of historical method, but the three appendices, which constitute a third of the text, give essays on sources for further reading under the following titles: Books on Historical Research, the Search for Materials, and Working Tools. In the body of the work Mr. Clark offers the kind of suggestions that might be given by an advisor to his student, leaving the more technical knowledge to be acquired as needed. In this vein the beginner is assured that historical research is basically common sense and does not always require mastery of various complicated and difficult techniques. However, even the elementary rules of common sense may be lost sight of, so the author presents some of the problems students should consider, basic information that they may find helpful, and certain points students sometimes forget.

Mr. Clark discusses the reasons for historical research and the choice of subject; he advises against delaying too long in putting one's ideas on paper because many have found the actual writing the hardest part of the task. He devotes considerable time to explaining the proper use of bibliography, footnotes, and appendices; and warns the researcher of the painful necessity of leaving out much of what he has discovered. The student should remember "the goal is to produce an interesting, readable, lucid and significant piece of work." While gathering material, accurate and well indexed notes should be kept—nothing should be left to memory. This brochure contains many helpful ideas and provides an encouraging and useful introduction for the beginner. (CARL D. HINRICHSEN)

COHN-HAFT, LOUIS. *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece.* [Smith College Studies in History, Volume 42.] (Northampton: Smith College. 1956. Pp. 91.)

Mr. Cohn-Haft here reviews the literary and epigraphic evidence affecting the public physicians, the *iatroi demosieuontes,* of ancient Greece. As is often the case with studies of ancient social institutions, the evidence is least meagre for Athens, and he develops a convincing case for his thesis that these public physicians were not, as has long been asserted, public health officers whose duties included caring for the indigent sick but—whatever they may have become in Hellenistic or imperial Roman times—physicians paid a fixed annual subsidy to encourage them to maintain residence (and practice) in a specific city. In an age of migratory physicians, this would insure the availability of a physician with recognized qualifications; some cities had none. Mr. Cohn-Haft's suggestion that such an appointment may have been an early form of medical licensure is less convincing, and does not sufficiently take into account the wide range of qualifications possessed by medical and paramedical practitioners in the ancient world.

This monograph is a thoroughly reasoned and well documented analysis of the incomplete evidence on this aspect of classical Greek social life. Yet, ill-tempered attacks upon the real or fancied misadversions of his predecessors, e.g., where he sneers at Sir Clifford Allbutt's ability to read German and betrays a misunderstanding of why the Regius professor of physic at Cambridge should interest himself in medical history (p. 2, n. 7c), must lead many readers to feel that lack of scholarly urbanity detracts from his otherwise stimulating book, introducing that rarest of things—a new, and believable, interpretation of well-marshalled evidence. (WILLIAM SHARPE)

CONGRÈS DE DROIT CANONIQUE MÉDIÉVAL, Louvain et Bruxelles 22-26 Juillet 1958. Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, fasc. 33. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain. 1959. Pp. xi, 184. paper, fb .260.)

This volume contains the proceedings of the Congress on Mediaeval Canon Law held during the Brussels International Exposition in 1958. The congress had a joint sponsorship: the Institute of Research and Study in Mediaeval Canon Law of Washington (Stephan Kuttner, president) and the Faculty of Canon Law of the Catholic University of Louvain (Henri Wagnon, dean). The papers given (which are chiefly in French, with two in Spanish, one each in English and Italian) treat various problems and developments in the field of mediaeval canon law and, more

especially, indicate progress toward the desired editing and publishing of collections and commentaries of the period. Some of the specific matters include: study of the manuscripts of the Decree of Gratian (Rambaud-Buhot), pre-Gratian collections (Ryan), synodal statutes of the dioceses of France (Guizard), commentaries on the constitutions of the IVth Lateran Council (Garcia Garcia), and the work of Ricardus Anglicus, a glossator of the *Compilatio I* (Lefebvre).

These studies and reports are in a sense the first published fruits of the Institute of Research and Study, apart from its annual bulletin which appears in *Traditio*. The institute, with headquarters in Washington, may see in these papers a step toward the ultimate publication of mediaeval canonical texts in a *Monumenta Iuris Canonici*. Although these papers will be of greatest interest to specialists in mediaeval canon law, their significance—especially as the promise of future editing and publication of sources—should not be underestimated by historians of the Middle Ages. Professor Kuttner clearly expressed the broader consequences of what may seem at first glance a narrow field in these words:

> We must see that there is something greater involved in the study of medieval canon law, for, in any effort at understanding the foundations of our civilization; at understanding the development of its laws and institutions in all their pluralistic variety, from the smallest social units to the international level; and above all, in any effort at finding the principles of a just and peaceful order, the study of the medieval canonical tradition must hold a significant place. (FREDERICK R. MCMANUS)

DE BEAUMONT, GUSTAVE. *Marie, or Slavery in the United States: A Novel of Jacksonian America.* Translated from the French by Barbara Chapman. With an introduction by Alvis L. Tinnin. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 252. $4.95.)

Gustave de Beaumont accompanied Alexis de Tocqueville on the inspection tour of American prisons which provided the raw material for the latter's classic, *Democracy in America*. Beaumont also produced a book of what he found in America. *Marie, ou l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis, Tableau de moeurs Américaines,* which went through five editions in seven years, but was forgotten soon after. The book consists of two disparate elements; the first is a novel dealing with the tragic effects of American racial injustice upon Gudovic, an idealistic young Frenchman, and his beloved, Marie, a beautiful girl whose great-great-grandmother was a Negro. This is enough to establish her legally and socially as a "person of color." The novel is replete with romantic trappings even though the translator has mercifully spared us some of the more orotund passages. However, the basic point that racial injustice in the United

States transcends slavery, is made clearly enough. The remainder of the work presents Beaumont's essays on such subjects as the social and political condition of the slaves and of the free Negros, American women, "blue laws," and the Indian. These often present, in a more systematic way, the ideas and events used in the novel. Thus the chapter "Riot" in the novel is based upon a "Note on the New York Race Riots of 1834."

The difficulty with the book is that it attempts to do two things at once. The novel is a means of communicating the facts of the racial situation in the United States to an audience unwilling to read sociological treatises, while the essays are for the more serious minded. The probable result is confusion in both camps. Beaumont's perceptiveness as a social critic is impressive; his discussion of the difficulties attendant upon abolition is especially acute. Much of what he has to say about the attitude of other Americans toward the Negro is still true today; less a tribute to his prophetic powers, perhaps, than a commentary on our national backwardness. However, he must be judged as a novelist, and it is as a novelist that he fails. (James F. Richardson)

Diamant, Alfred. *Austrian Catholics and the Social Question, 1918-1933.* (Florida: University of Florida Press. 1959. Pp. iv, 81. $2.00.)

It is difficult to present in eighty pages so important a problem in the brief and fateful history of the Austrian Republic. The outstanding feature of Austria then was its internal division into two hostile camps: the Catholic-conservative and the Socialist. The author analyzes two types of Catholic solutions for the social question, viz., restoration of the old organic social order (*Sozialreform*), and gradual reform within the existing social framework (*Sozialpolitik*).

Two main sources of the Austrian Catholic theory were the encyclicals of the popes and the social theory of the Romantics. Under the influence of Romantics, and of the specifically Austrian institutions, Austrian Catholic social thought developed differently from the social thought of Catholics elsewhere. The author claims that the strength of the Socialists forced the Catholic clerical movement into an anti-Socialist alliance, but the critics seem to believe that their historical experience inclined them toward a strongly authoritarian state. For the development of this Catholic movement the publication of *Quadragesimo anno* by Pius XI had special significance. The emphasis on corporative organization was found congenial to the whole development of Austrian Catholic thought.

After a comprehensive analysis of various schools of thought the author reaches the conclusion that by 1931 Austrian Catholics "seemed to be united in their determination to destroy the First Republic and to establish

in its stead a corporative regime" (p. 72) which resulted in the creation of the Corporative Constitution of May 1, 1934. While the advocates of *Sozialpolitik* were committed to the maintenance of existing social institutions and of the capitalist economy, the principal weaknesses of the *Sozialreform* were its "divorce from empirical research and its pro-petty-bourgeois bias" (p. 77).

A careful observer of the Austrian scene of that time may agree with the author's conclusion that the outstanding feature of Austrian Catholic thought was the fact that it failed to distinguish between the state as the area of compulsory action and society as the area of voluntary action. Was the contempt for democracy really a "dominant theme of Catholic political thought all along" in Austria? Does the failure of Austrian Catholics justify the author's final conclusion that one "might well ask whether the utopia of the Catholic theorists has come to life anywhere at all"?

Despite the fact that this brochure lacks an English translation of numerous German terms and an index, this scholarly and well-documented study is an interesting contribution to a discussion of an important question in the history of central Europe. (GEORGE J. PRPIC)

DIBBLE, CHARLES E. and ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON (Translators). *Florentine Codex—General History of the Things of New Spain* by Fray Bernadino de Sahagún. Book 9, *The Merchants*, translated from the Aztec. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1959. Pp. 97. $6.50.)

For the study of the Aztec civilization, Sahagún's classic is, of course, indispensable. The ninth book of the Florentine Codex, that which deals with the merchant groups of the Aztec Empire, represents the latest addition to the over-all project of translating the complete Aztec text into readable English for this major source. This monumental project, undertaken jointly by the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Bandelier Centennial Committee, initiated some years back by the late Dr. Hewitt and Dr. Morley, and continued by Dr. Dibble and Dr. Anderson with the original goals in mind, is now reaching completion. It represents a major effort and is of utmost value to the historian, anthropologist, and the student.

Throughout the books so far translated careful, scholarly, and uniform standards have been maintained; this latest effort is no exception. Fully illustrated, with the Aztec account paralleling the English text, the mood created is one which resembles that of Sahagún's sixteenth-century world. The Florentine Codex, that is the Aztec account in the Laurentian Library at Florence, is one of three manuscripts written by Sahagún in compiling his work. In translating this account into English a genuine service has been performed, one which cannot be overpraised. (JOSEPH A. ELLIS)

DOUGHERTY, JOHN J. *Searching the Scriptures. A Popular Introduction to the Bible.* (New York: Hanover House. Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. 239. $3.95.)

This is a popular introduction to the books of both Testaments by Monsignor Dougherty who formerly taught Scripture at the archdiocesan seminary of Newark and is now president of Seton Hall University. It accurately reflects his life of study and public activity, in that a wide reading of scholarly works and an acquaintance with recent progress in biblical research appear in a book that has also a light, popular touch. The unpretentious volume is written to attract and inform the layman, indicating what he should look for, how he may best understand certain books, and how modern archaeological discoveries illustrate many biblical passages. More space is given to the Old Testament than to the New, but no biblical book escapes some attention.

With the *Divino Afflante Spiritu* encyclical of 1943 a definite direction and encouragement was given to Catholic biblical scholars in favor of "broader" ideas, such as the literary criticism of the Pentateuch, Isaias, etc. All these more or less assured results of biblical criticism are prudently adopted here in order to help the layman understand his Bible. If the Bible is divine, it is also human, and this aspect is well brought out. The attractively printed volume closes with three appendices on the Dead Sea Scrolls, an historical chart of dates and events, and a basic reading plan for the entire Bible. Catholic scholars have, perhaps, been remiss in not producing (in English) a popular and informed literature on the various books of the Bible. Monsignor Dougherty's little volume helps to fill this gap. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

HITCHCOCK, WILLIAM R. *The Background of the Knights' Revolt, 1522-1523.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 128. $2.50, paper.)

This work is a study in the social history of the period of the Protestant Revolt, a treatment of the social and religious background of the revolt of the knights under Franz von Sickingen against the Archbishop of Trier in August, 1522. Such studies in social history are necessary for, as the author claims in the introduction, the Reformation period cannot be completely understood without a knowledge of the relationship between religious thought and social forces. The defeat of Sickingen and the knights at Trier by the territorial princes is taken as a symbol of the social and political decline of the knights and the rise of the princes in German history.

The author begins this case study with a valuable treatment of the origins of the group known as Imperial Free Knights and their social problems

consequent upon the strengthening of the position of the princes in Germany. This meant an end to the favorable position previously occupied by the knights. In addition, the increasing use by the princes of mercenary troops was making the military functions of the knights obsolete. Since the knights belonged to the feudal era, it became apparent by the time of their revolt in 1522 that they had lost their role in the political and economic life of Germany. To recoup their losses in the face of the rising cities and merchants, the knights grouped into leagues such as the League of Landau in 1522. Historians previously have given the impression that the knights as a whole followed Luther in manifesting hostility toward the Catholic Church and greed for her goods. The author, however, and more recent authorities present a picture of the knights as far less unified. Some of them used Lutheranism to preserve their own interests against the princes, the cities, and the Church; but it is not correct to speak of a bond of unity among the knights in support of Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten and their Lutheran inclinations. Consequently, there was never a knights' rebellion in the sense of a general or unified uprising. It is with this interpretation that the author makes his valuable contribution. It is apparent that the author has read far more widely than is suggested by the brief bibliography. Case studies such as this make a significant contribution to the social history of the period of the Protestant Revolt. (GEORGE E. TIFFANY)

HOGAN, JAMES (Ed.). *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande (1689-90)*. Supplementary Volume. (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1958. Pp. xxxvi, 113. 30 shillings.)

When William of Orange accepted the English throne in early 1689, King James II had already fled to France where he arranged an alliance with Louis XIV against their common enemy. Louis supplied James with money, men, and supplies for a military expedition to Ireland against the Protestant Ulsterites who favored William. Accompanying the army as Louis' ambassador and paymaster to James was Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux, one of France's leading diplomats. In 1934 the Irish Manuscripts Commission published most of d'Avaux's Irish correspondence in the *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689-90* that was drawn from the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, from the British Museum's Mackintosh Papers, and from the Armand Baschet Collection in the Public Record Office. The present volume includes thirty-six additional d'Avaux manuscripts dated March 6 through December 6, 1689, that detail the events surrounding the invasion of Ulster, particularly the fifteen-week siege of Londonderry. Part A of this correspondence consists of thirty letters or reports written by the count primarily from Brest

and Dublin; Part B, of six letters addressed to him from the Ministère de la Guerre. The documents have been reproduced in the original French without modernization or correction.

D'Avaux's reports on the progress of the Jacobite cause in Ulster are full of rich detail that is not easily found elsewhere. Among other things, they contain accounts of money paid to French and Irish troops, the number and disposition of the French army, its movements, and its success or failure. One remarkable feature of the letters is the adverse criticism of the Hamilton brothers, Richard and Anthony, who took a foremost part in the Jacobite war. D'Avaux frequently singles out the military incompetence of Richard who led the forces attacking Londonderry, and blames Anthony for the collapse of the northern campaign. The surprising disaffection toward the Hamiltons and their influential family seems to have grown from d'Avaux's conviction that they had formed a cabal against the French.

The correspondence fills only a third part of this book. It consists mainly of indices of names, places, and subject matter to both the original and supplementary volumes that render them that much more useful. Mr. Hogan's lengthy introduction not only acquaints the reader with the nature and scope of these documents, but also skillfully traces the history of the d'Avaux manuscripts through two and a half centuries of movement to their final resting places. (MARTIN J. HAVRAN)

HUGHES, PAUL L. and ROBERT F. FRIES (Eds.). *Crown and Parliament in Tudor-Stuart England. A Documentary Constitutional History, 1485-1714.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1959. Pp. xvi, 359. $6.95.)

To imagine a pre-legal college undergraduate who will not in the future find the reading of this volume imperative would be difficult. As a combined source and textbook for students of Tudor, Stuart, and Puritan times, the scope of this carefully edited work is as refreshing as it is challenging. Pertinent examples of exact contemporary expression convey a breadth of political and institutional development, and increase its usefulness for all students in the wider area of the humanities. Basic sources for most of the documentary selections include the *Statutes of the Realm*, the 1616 edition of James I's *Works*, and the *Journals of the House of Lords and House of Commons*. Contemporary political theorists are represented by Sir John Fortescue, Edward Dudley, Sir Thomas Smith, and Richard Hooker through the Elizabethan era. Calvin, Knox, Hobbes, and Locke are given brief recognition in the Stuart period. In this respect, the editors seem to have lost sight of their avowed purpose. More challenging and enlightening excerpts might have been found in Cuthbert Tunstall, Thomas More, Reginald Pole, John Rastell, or Stephen Gardiner. Such

background would have contributed greatly toward the interpretation of the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome, the 1534 Act for the Submission of the Clergy, or the 1555 Second Statute af Repeal. The intransigence, the supine political expediency, and the malleability of Parliament in the hands of Henry VIII are clearly outlined in the commentary for the 1534, 1536, and 1543 succession acts. Competent critical introductions preface all readings through the reign of Anne.

A realistic and selective bibliography adds further value. With both graduate and undergraduate history departments now directing more critical study to an evaluation of the student as potential research scholar and prospective college teacher, this volume fills a long apparent gap. The editors have done invaluable service for graduate and undergraduate students and professors. (JOSEPH G. DWYER)

HUTTON, EDWARD. *Naples and Campania Revisited.* (London: Hollis & Carter; New York: David McKay Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. xii, 286. $7.00.)

The fame of Naples and the surrounding Campania rests mainly on the topography of the region, the beauty of the climate, and the vitality of the inhabitants. Edward Hutton has not neglected to take these well-known features into account in this, his latest book on Italy. His emphasis, however, and the attention of the reader are not so much on what catches the eye of the tourist, but rather on what has taken place and been done by those who have inhabited this region since its early Greek origin. There are many visible monuments and reminders of its long history, and the author takes particular delight in recounting that history as well as describing what is to be seen as he makes his way through Naples and then north on the way to Capua, Gaeta, and Terracina, south to Sorrento, Amalfi, and Salerno, and finally to Montecassino, Montevergine, and Benevento. His style of writing is not always easy to follow, but he has such a command of the subject that he leaves the reader with a wealth of detailed background information. It is obvious that the book is the result of many years of study in the realm of Italian history, art, and literature.

About one-third of the volume is devoted to Naples, while the remainder covers nearly the whole of the Campania. The former contains, among other items, a brief history of the city, a long chapter on many of its churches, and a chapter each on the National Museum and the picture gallery at Capodimonte. Mr. Hutton appears to be especially fond of the churches. Being closely associated with the Angevin, Aragonese, Spanish, and Bourbon periods of Neapolitan history, they afford him the opportunity of introducing most, if not all, of the members of each dynasty. A separate chapter is reserved for the Bourbons, all but two of whom are

buried in Santa Chiara. Once outside Naples, the reader is taken on a tour that includes a variety of places and personalities. Not all will be of interest to everyone, perhaps, but there is much to remind one of Greece and imperial Rome, of mediaeval times as well as modern. The accent is on the past rather than on the present, as well it should be in a region that has so much that has endured for so long. (BERNARD C. GERHARDT)

KÄHLER, H. *Rom und seine Welt: Bilder zur Geschichte und Kultur.* Ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Heinz Kähler. (Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. 1958. Pp. 44 and 288 Plates. DM 29.80.)

This is an excellent work. The introduction contains a penetrating sketch of Roman art and architecture to the end of Antiquity. As in the case of Latin literature, it is now recognized more and more that Roman art, in spite of all that it owes to the Greeks, or more specifically to Hellenistic art, is itself creative, revealing qualities that are distinctly and characteristically Roman. Christianity gave a new orientation to Roman art. The pagan basilica, e.g., was adapted to serve the needs of Christian worship. Christianity infused a new spirit and a new meaning into ancient art, and the last phase of ancient art thus becomes the beginning of a new age in art, the Christian age.

The plates are a well-balanced collection in which each period and type are adequately represented, and they are magnificently executed. In addition, there are nine line drawings in the introduction. The book has no index or even a list of plates, but reference is made systematically throughout the introduction to the pertinent plates. The price is very reasonable. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

KUHNER, HANS. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy,* translated by Kenneth J. Northcott. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1958. Pp. 249. $6.00.)

The unsuspecting reader who purchases this book by title will be sorely disappointed. The volume is not so much an encyclopedia as a collection of vignette biographies of the popes, a translation of the *Lexicon der Paepste* the merits of which are more than offset by inconsistencies, historical inaccuracy, and vagueness of language. The translator, perhaps because of too slavish a reliance on the original, has repeatedly misused words and phrases. We are told that Gregory XV was "consecrated" a priest (p. 187); Rodrigo Borja was "ordained" a cardinal without "a lower ordination" (p. 134). A statement that the third-century Pope Cornelius "was responsible for establishing the church hierarchy" needs at least some explanation. Apostates are said to have "seceded" during the persecutions of the same century (pp. 13, 14).

Throughout the volume, constructions are clumsy and wordiness often leads the author into inconsistencies and contradictions. Nicholas I is pictured as one who "elevated himself to the position of a judge of eternal laws, even going so far as to depose archbishops and show that he was a pope to whom the cause was more important than the rights of human beings"—this about a pope who is later commended as a defender of human rights, a man of integrity, "always ready to listen to the needs of his people"! (pp. 49-50). Charles of Anjou is at once "retiring" and bloodthirsty (pp. 91-93); Lucius III and Gregory IX are both credited with establishing the Inquisition (pp. 282, 288). The Latin synod of 1059 imposed "prerequisites for celibacy," whatever that may mean (p. 72). Historical accuracy has also suffered from the prejudices of the author or of his sources. From the Renaissance on, there are long passages devoted to literature, art, architecture, and sculpture that have only a tenuous connection with the papacy. Praise or condemnation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century popes is largely borrowed from Dante or da Todi. Innocent III is pictured as the original Italian nationalist, yet accused of conceiving of the pope as "feudal overlord above all the empires of the world"—which modern research certainly refutes (pp. 85-86). Prejudice against both sides in the French question is rather evident and leads to the most flagrant exaggerations about both Boniface VIII and Clement V (pp. 99-104). After hearing that Clement XIII defended the Society of Jesus most vigorously, we are expected somehow to believe that he "was well aware that the Jesuits were out to strike at the Papacy itself" (p. 216).

The author's sins of omission are hardly less serious. There is no index—perhaps, the sparsity of material is the explanation. In the alphabetical list of popes appended to the work there is no indication as to which ones are revered as saints. In treating the Great Western Schism, there is no mention of the Council of Pisa (p. 112) and the liturgical reforms of Pius V are equally passed over. All in all, this is a poorly constructed work. Errors and inconsistencies in spelling and language, verbosity, vagueness, and inaccuracies ruin whatever value it might have had as a concise history of the popes. (PAUL J. MABREY)

KLYUCHEVSKY, VASILI. *Peter the Great.* Translated from the Russian by Liliana Archibald. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 282. $6.75.)

Professor Klyuchevsky of the University of Moscow was the author of a five-volume history of Russia (first published in Moscow between 1904 and 1921) which gave special emphasis to the social, economic, and cultural development of Russia up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fourth volume, concerned with the social and administrative changes

that occurred during the reign of Peter the Great, is the subject of Liliana Archibald's very competent and readable translation. It was not until Mrs. Archibald began to teach Russian history at the University of Otago, New Zealand, that she realized how little was known about the social and economic currents agitating Russia during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In an effort to remedy this deficiency in western knowledge she undertook this translation, which with its breezy style, up-to-date bibliographical suggestions, and critical notes constitutes a great improvement over the earlier translation of C. J. Hogarth.

In this day of increasing contacts between Soviet Russia and the western world, Klyuchevsky's comments about foreign visitors to Russia in the eighteenth century would seem to be almost equally valid for contemporary visitors. Klyuchevsky maintained that foreigners tended to be unduly impressed by the industrial strength of Russia. To these superficial observers, Russia was one big factory in which hitherto hidden riches were everywhere being extracted from the earth and in which hammer and forge resounded everywhere. Also interesting is Klyuchevsky's conviction that Peter's association with the West was merely a means to an end, not an end in itself. Peter needed western Europe to train Russians in financial and administrative affairs, as well as in the technical sciences. He was not a blind admirer of the West; on the contrary, he distrusted the West and felt that it was hostile toward Russia. Mrs. Archibald's able translation of Klyuchevsky's excellent work will be read with profit both by students of Russian history and by general readers who wish to acquire information about a crucial period in the evolution of modern Russia. (Elsie A. Carrillo)

Laurentin, René, Dom Bernard Billet, and Dom Paul Galland. *Procès de Lourdes.* [Lourdes. Documents Authentiques. Tome V.] (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1959. Pp. 398. Fr. 1.710.)

This volume, the fifth in a series designed to provide authentic documentation of the history of the apparition at Lourdes in 1858, is concerned with the episcopal investigation into the character of Bernadette Soubirous, the quality of the spring in the grotto of Lourdes, and the cures alleged to have been effected. It gives an almost day-to-day account of the carrying out of the investigation from October 20, 1858, to April 1, 1860. The decision of the bishop regarding the nature of the events of 1858 at Lourdes was given only in 1862. The chronicle of the last part of the investigation, including the circumstances surrounding the final episcopal pronouncement, will form the subject matter of a sixth volume of the series. In the opinion of the authors, this fifth volume contains the substance of the information on which the final decision rested.

In the course of the investigation, testimony was taken from eyewitnesses and others in close touch with the principal witnesses. Recourse was had to the expert knowledge of medical doctors and hydrogeologists. The testimony thus gathered at the instance of the bishop is published for the first time in the volume under consideration. The authors have reported in great detail the matter turned up by the investigators. Their account is supported by letters, minutes, official reports, medical and other scientific attestations, and contemporary accounts. The reader is in effect given access to the materials on which the bishop based his judgment. Anyone interested in securing a firsthand acquaintance with the "Lourdes case" could do no better than consult this series and, for the diocesan investigation, this volume. (M. H. QUINLAN)

LEITES, NATHAN. *On the Game of Politics in France.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 190. $4.50.)

This well written work deals primarily with the last eight years of the Fourth Republic. It is not the history of these years but rather a study of the "rules" and "regulations" which tended to govern actions of the political class in France. The author first deals with the various factions of the Fourth Republic and their doctrines—or their lack of doctrines. "I propose to deal only with those parliamentary groups, cliques, and individuals," Mr. Leites writes in his introduction, "who essentially accepted the French constitutional status quo. This excludes not only the Communists but also the 'extreme right'" (p. 1). He then takes up five trends which he finds prevalent in these years. They are: "The Struggle Against Responsibility," "Designs for Failure," "The Resources of Time," "Precautions and Arrangements," and "The Search for a *Force Majeure.*" Having discussed these items at length, the author applies them in the last chapter entitled "Epilogue: Spring 1958," in which he points out how each contributed to the fall of the Fourth Republic. There is no bibliography, but the book is well documented in the footnotes appearing at the end. This study was published originally as *Du Malaise politique en France* by Librairie Plon of Paris in 1958. The present version contains revisions and extensive additions. The study is concluded by a most helpful eleven-page index. (JOHN G. GALLAHER)

MEEHAN, DENIS (Ed.). *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis.* [Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 3.] (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1958. Pp. 154. 30/.)

This, the third volume in a series, comes from the hand of a former professor at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, now teaching classics at a college on the Pacific Coast of our own country. The Venerable Bede tells us

that Arculfus was a bishop in Gaul who had travelled for some time in the Holy Land and was shipwrecked on the coast of Britain on his return. Adamnan took down from him an account of his travels and descriptions of the holy places and later reworked this with considerable expansion from other materials at his disposal. Geyer's edition in the *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IIII-VIII* [*CSEL*, v. 39, (Vienna, 1898)] was based upon four manuscripts, although he mentions twenty-two in his *apparatus*. The same four basic manuscripts are utilized, but a different classification is attempted. Professor Ludwig Bieler has been responsible for the critical text which is not normalized as was that of Geyer. The orthography of the manuscripts is kept in many instances to show the Hibernian character of the text. These same peculiarities are to be found in the Celtic Gospels, Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, and in Adamnan's own *Vita Sancti Columbae*. It is a case of weighing the relative merits of each reading rather than counting the manuscripts. If only one of the four basic manuscripts, e.g., attested a form as *eclesia, sepulchrum*, etc., it was here adopted. Certain mistakes in Geyer's edition are also corrected, but there is no conspectus of earlier editions here given as in the earlier edition. The plates which portray floor plans of various shrines from Vienna MS. 458 are well executed and show a great advance over the illustrations in Geyer. In the *testimonia* printed at the foot of the text, we find evidence for Sedulius Scottus' use of this work in his *Commentary on St. Matthew*. The introduction studies the use of other sources by Adamnan, as Jerome's *Onomasticon*, Sulpicius Severus' *Chronicon*, and Hegesippus' *Historiae*. The account of St. George incorporated in this text [III. 4] is the earliest northern mention of the famous oriental saint, and the editor states that the cult of the saint in Britain actually begins with the Celtic influence in Northumbria. Early Irish martyrologies, passions, and homilies soon took it over and it is well established by 800.

The indices as usual in this series are well done and cover orthography, proper names, rare Latin vocabulary, and classical words used with new meanings. Asterisks here indicate words which occur also in other of Adamnan's writings, e.g., his *Vita Sancti Columbae*. I note but one misprint (and that an understandable one): in *testimonia* (p. 58), and again in the note 1 (*c. med.*) (p. 59), for the date of Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* [Studi e Testi, 114], for Rome 1954, read 1944. (Robert T. Meyer)

Nevins, Albert. *The Maryknoll Book of Peoples*. (New York: John J. Crawley & Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. 319. $4.95.)

Here is an unsophisticated book that tells in plain, factual language the complex story of mankind's history and cultural development. This primer

defines the unity and basic dignity of people everywhere and helps to dispel the isolationist darkness that enshrouds most moderns. Significantly the book is about peoples, not nations, for it treats primarily of cultures. The first forty pages set down some cultural and religious facts about the human race as a whole. The remainder of the book consists of a travelogue, in which the author's firsthand experience on his extensive world's journey ably suited him for the task of depicting the cultural and religious aspects of man in his various habits and habitats. Deftly interspersed among these accounts of the various peoples are seventeen three- to five-page vignettes which state their message of humanity with a warmth and a personal touch. Copious illustrations speak a language that is a delight to the eye, and charts and other educational devices are smoothly incorporated to complete this universal image of man. All combine to create a sense of missionary urgency.

Some common misconceptions are rectified. "It would be a good thing if people would not speak of races in terms of color," e.g., use Negroid instead of black (p. 27). "The part the Spanish played in developing our country is often forgotten or distorted" as a result of our Anglo-Saxon culture and language influencing our thinking and history books (p. 60). Modern Africa bustling with life, the Negro contribution in America being second only to the English, the Italian's role as the chief moulder of European civilization are samples of similar insights. A tragic century of nationalism is here called to task by a long look at the world's diverse peoples and their cultures. The response evoked is one full of hope and optimism for the human family under God. "Christian living does not exist solely for or within the family," but "exists for the entire world." This catholic book will reward Catholics immensely. (LEONARD DOSH)

ROBBINS, ROSSELL HOPE (Ed.). *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xlvii, 440. $7.50.)

Some thirty-five years ago Carleton Brown took a major step in assembling a modern anthology of Middle English lyrics. During the 1930's he produced two additional anthologies, and these, taken together with his earlier work, comprised for a time the most important collection of English lyrics in up-to-date editions. In 1952 Mr. Robbins, a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and an associate of the Faculty Seminar in Medieval Studies at Columbia University, became, in a sense, Brown's continuator when he published his *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries,* and now his present volume brings together the last of the best pieces of lyrical poetry of the Middle English period.

A large part of the last two centuries of mediaeval England was marked by the turbulence of the Hundred Years' War, and the English, because of their repeated failure to consolidate their conquests in France, became demoralized— every defeat across the channel was followed by civil strife and political upheavals at home. It was this violent character of the age more than anything else, it seems, which stirred the emotions of English poets and lyricists and inspired them to espouse one political cause or another emerging from the ferment of their time.

This anthology represents an important addition to the literary history of mediaeval England, and its value is considerably enhanced by Dr. Robbins' thirty-one pages of introduction which include a classification of the most significant types of historical poetry and a highly instructive analysis of the selected poems, an analysis which he has woven skillfully against the tumultuous background of English life during the close of the Middle Ages. About a third of the volume is taken up with scholarly notes, and there is a glossary of forty-five pages and an index of first lines. It is a tribute to his industry and scholarship that he was able to put together these poems with such selective care that they give the reader a vivid glimpse of the remarkable age which they were meant to portray. (THADDEUS V. TULEJA)

ROGERS, FRANCIS M. (Translated, with commentary.) *The Obedience of a King of Portugal.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. 120. $5.00.)

Some years ago in another journal, this reviewer was obliged to point out in connection with the appearance of the first volume of editions of imprints in the James Ford Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota that that particular work was a negligible contribution to scholarship and was outrageously overpriced. Subsequent volumes have improved on the first deficiency but not on the second. The work at hand, however, completely removes both complaints. The publisher should also be congratulated since *The Obedience* has been chosen by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as one of the fifty books best exemplifying American typography and design.

Vasco Fernandes de Lucena delivered the accustomed obedience in 1485 to Innocent VIII on the occasion of the pontiff's accession to the throne. The oration was twice printed (6 fols. and 8 fols.) soon after the deliverance, although it is not possible to fix the precise dates. Aside from the rendering of the obedience, the orator presented a succinct account of the Portuguese royal house's accomplishments against the heathen, both in Portugal and overseas. The present edition contains a facsimile reproduc-

tion of the rarer 8 fols. edition, a translation, the historical background, a commentary on the significance and history of the text, and notes. If the University of Minnesota is to be congratulated on the text, Professor Rogers is also to be felicitated on this edition. It is a model of skillful editing, embracing both historical and linguistic techniques, and characterized by the proper use of imagination. (GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER)

RUBIN, LOUIS D., JR. (Ed.). *Teach the Freeman. The Correspondence of Rutherford B. Hayes and the Slater Fund for Negro Education, 1881-1893.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Two Volumes. Pp. lv, 236; 301. $10.00 per set.)

In a letter to A. T. Waite of Boston in March, 1883, former President Hayes wrote: "My interest in pending public questions is on the subject of education in the South—particularly for the colored people." At the time Hayes had already been actively participating in the education of southerners as a trustee of the Peabody Foundation and he had accepted the directorship of the Slater Fund whose expressed purpose was to improve the education of the Negro. The work under review is comprised of letters relating to the work of the Slater Fund by its general agents and the part played by Hayes as its head. The correspondence has been carefully edited by Professor Rubin, who in his introductory essay suggests the high interest and value these volumes have for the historian as he traces the background of the problem of southern education, and the specific difficulties the Negro faced in obtaining even a meager education in the South following the Civil War. The aftermath of the war had brought southern education to a sad state. Where to fit the newly freed Negro into the picture concerned a number of responsible southern leaders and certain philanthropic interests in the North. John Fox Slater, a Norwich, Connecticut, industrialist, sought to aid the effort of Negro education by establishing the Slater Fund which he capitalized at $1,200,000. The purpose of the fund, as is clear from the correspondence between Leonard W. Bacon and Hayes, was to bring the Negro to economic independence through education, in particular, vocational education. Perhaps, those letters which came unsolicited to President Hayes are the most interesting in obtaining insights into the attitude of individual Negroes toward their education, e.g., the correspondence between Hayes and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the great Negro scholar and champion of Negro rights, is included and the latter's difference of view on the education of the Negro is clearly stated.

The bulk of these volumes is devoted to the letters to Hayes from the first general agent of the Fund, Dr. Atticus G. Haygood. Although Hay-

good's efforts for Negro education are clear, what comes through the correspondence is the personality of the general agent and the differences which existed between Haygood and certain members of the Slater Fund committee, chiefly the attitude of Morris K. Jesup, New York financier. Haygood's letters are filled with apologies relating to his endeavors, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish Haygood's efforts for the Slater Fund and his activities on behalf of the Methodist Church South. Dr. Haygood's role as general agent of the Slater Fund ended when he was appointed bishop of the Methodist Episcopal South. The temper of the correspondence with Haygood's successor, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, shows a marked change for the better. Hayes felt the Negro education problem had been solved by the 1890's, but this was premature. Professor Rubin's volumes will serve as a worthwhile contribution toward a better understanding of the role of the Negro in American history, and of early Negro education in particular. (NICHOLAS J. AMATO)

SCHNEIDER, LOUIS and SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH. *Popular Religion. Inspirational Books in America.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 173. $4.50.)

This careful study in the sociology of religion is a highly readable adaptation of a professionally produced piece of research done by two professors who serve respectively on the faculties of Purdue University and the University of Washington. Their technique was to examine the content of the forty-six best selling books in religion in the years 1875-1955 paragraph by paragraph, scoring them on the basis of mention of certain key ideas in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman is the only Jew represented; the Catholics include Bishop Sheen, James Keller, John A. O'Brien, Thomas Merton, and Ernest Dimnet; the rest are Protestants, notably Harry E. Fosdick, Emmet Fox, Norman V. Peale, and Peter Marshall. Mary Pickford's *Why Not Try God?* is considered; a surprise entry is Daphne du Maurier in behalf of Moral Rearmament with *Come Wind, Come Weather.* Fosdick, Fox, and Peale are limited to three books each for analysis, even though they had more titles qualify by the criterion of sales. None of the sociological apparatus is given except the "code-book" of categories used in the analysis.

What emerges is a completely fair and tasteful discussion of numerous delicate themes, couched in very good language. The history of American religion is reflected in the moods and truths dominant in various periods. The interests of the authors range from such self-evident propositions as "High octane thinking means Power and Performance" to the somewhat less evident, "If I have no cross to bear today I shall not advance heavenward."

At one point the authors write: "Thought is magically master over all circumstance. Like things affect or bring about like things. Bad leads to bad; good leads to good—invariably—and the law runneth forward and back. . . . Tragedy has no meaning. . . . Whatever the exceptions to this representation [the authors note them all-Rev.], it is central to the literature in the sense that there is no other equally pervasive, equally coherent pattern of thinking to be found in it. One might call it a model pattern of the literature. The Catholics do not represent a solid phalanx against it" (pp. 139 f.). (GERARD S. SLOYAN)

SCULLARD, H. H. *From the Gracchi to Nero. A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1959. Pp. xi, 450. $6.00.)

Within the dates indicated in the title, the Roman Republic collapsed and was replaced by the Principate which, in turn, faced its first great crisis in the revolt against Nero. It is one of the most important periods in all ancient history—and, incidentally, the one on which we are best informed. The Late Republic and Early Principate, however, are often treated separately, with a resulting loss of continuity and proper perspective. Accordingly, Professor Scullard, a leading specialist in Roman history, decided to write a short, unified political and cultural history of Rome from the Gracchi to Nero. His exposition is based on firsthand knowledge of the ancient sources and an up-to-date control of modern research. The notes (pp. 381-434) contain select bibliography and discussions of controversial points and problems. The author exhibits his customary critical objectivity and accuracy in his treatment of the Gracchi, Caesar, Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero. His chapter on Judaism and Early Christianity, including his evaluation of the Qumran community, is very well done. His narrative, moreover, is very clear and readable. The book is furnished with a good index, four maps, and a genealogical table of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This is an excellent book and it is a pleasure to recommend it highly. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SENN, ALFRED ERICH. *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 272. $6.00.)

This is a book which must be welcomed by all students of eastern European history, and especially those concerned with the nationality problems of the area. Its author is a young American scholar who has written this volume only after an extensive investigation into hitherto unpublished source materials and especially the Saulys Archives. Senn devotes the first

chapter of his work to sketching the origin and development of Lithuanian nationalism. This is followed by seven chapters which treat all phases of Lithuanian internal and external problems for the period from September, 1917, to January, 1920. The last two chapters are devoted to the independent Lithuanian state, and there is a short chronology, a list of the personnel who made up Lithuanian governments from 1917 to 1920, a bibliography, and an index.

Among Senn's scholarly virtues is a knowledge of the Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, and German languages which greatly enhances his contribution which, incidentally, includes a presentation of the attitude of Americans of Lithuanian descent toward their mother country and of the American "nonrecognition" policy toward the nationalities of the old Russian Empire with the exception of Finland, Poland, and Armenia.

Our critical remarks are few, e.g., the nationality problem of the old Russian Empire should have been recognized as forming one whole. It would have also been worthwhile to mention that Voldemaras participated as an observer at the Congress of Representatives of the non-Russian nationalities, organized by the Ukrainian Rada (parliament) in Kiev, September 21-28, 1917. Throughout the book the reader comes across the names of other victims of Russian imperialism (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Ukraine) which should not have been excluded from the index. The Ukrainian city of Lviw, known in English under Austrian terminology as Lemberg, is given in the Russian form of Lvov (p. 191). To term the events of the year 1920 (in which the allied armies of the Ukrainian National Republic under Petlura and of the Polish Republic under Pilsudski attempted to stop the expansion of red Russian imperialism) according to the usual Soviet terminology as "Polish-Russian War" is contrary to facts about which there exists an extensive literature. This excellent volume has an extraordinary importance for a proper evaluation of the policy of the United States toward the non-Russian nationalities of the old Russian Empire. It clarifies the roots of the present tragic situation of the free world and the United States. (ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI)

SOLT, LEO F. *Saints in Arms: Puritanism and Democracy in Cromwell's Army.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. 150. $4.00.)

To the already extensive list of recent titles on the history of England in the mid-seventeenth century Professor Solt's study is a welcome addition. Many contemporary scholars have rightly seen in the complex interplay of Puritanism and democracy a problem with peculiarly modern resonances. The English civil war is becoming among American historians almost as relevant as our own Civil War, and its literature may soon prove

as redundant. However, the modest monograph under review contributes definitely—if not definitively—to one aspect of the central problem: the political attitudes, explicit and implicit, of the chaplains in the New Model Army. By limiting his scope to the most prominent "saints in arms" (Saltmarsh, Dell, Peters, Erbury, and Sedgwick) and to the most crucial years (from Naseby to the Barebones Parliament), the author risks a revision of his own revisionist thesis. But his thesis, within the clearly set focus of his study, stands. Far from being the prophets and precursors of a new democratic dispensation in history, the chaplains heralded that most totalitarian and least historical of regimes conceivable: the millenarian Kingdom of the Saints.

After filling in a brief background on the events of 1646-1647 and the elements of anti-nomianism, Professor Solt develops his thesis by showing how the authoritarian outweighs the democratic in the nine "polarities" that summarize the complex, often paradoxical, political philosophy (and theology) of the Puritans. For Dell and Saltmarsh (and to a lesser extent, the more unpredictable Peters), the positive objective of the revolution was not a covenanted church—much less a nation—gathered by free men and girt by fundamental laws. Nor was there to be, even on the plea of expediency, a complete toleration of consciences, that would in fact if not in right establish "state freedom" in England. Rather, what they envisaged as a reign of the saints—as politically deterministic as the "free grace" that determined their sainthood, and as legally anarchic as the inscrutable "power" that gained their victories in the field. Such blunt anti-nomian principles left little room for subtle constitutional conclusions. That such conclusions actually did eventuate—that, e.g., Woodhouse's "principle of analogy" did become valid—was due not to the chaplains of the army but to the generals. Cromwell, Ireton—and Monck—were, ironically, forced to look beyond the millennium to the historical fact of England's continuous polity, a polity in which democratic ideas and methods were even then evolving with such undeterministic and vital profusion. (R. I. Bradley)

Thornton, A. P. *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 370. $7.50.)

The principal theme of this work becomes clearer after reflection upon its sub-title: *A Study in British Power.* The author, professor of history in the University College of the West Indies, states that his purpose is to present the various attitudes toward the British Empire in the past hundred years in order to evaluate their effect on Great Britain's influence in world affairs. Remembering that Sir Keith Hancock considered "imperialism" as being no word for scholars, Professor Thornton has adopted for his

study the definition of Lord Rosebery, in 1899: ". . . that greater pride in Empire which is called imperialism and is a larger patriotism." After sketching the course of the British Empire in the nineteenth century the author has analyzed the imperial idea at its zenith. Considering the imperial movement to have reached its height in Great Britain between 1890 and 1900, Professor Thornton believes that it never recovered completely from the moral implications of the Boer War, in spite of the territorial expansion of the empire after World War I.

The author emphasizes that the English found it difficult to understand the emotional intensity of aroused nationalism throughout the empire, although intellectually and politically they endeavored to make allowances for it. In stressing the effect of democracy, it is well to recall that he has chosen to quote the following passage from John Stuart Mill on his title-page: "Such a thing as the government of one people by another does not and cannot exist." Thornton judges the imperial principle to have been the most dynamic element in the thought and action of the ruling classes of England until after World War II. Even then he believes the intellectual argument against it was unsuccessful, since the imperial idea had been a faith and an emotion before it became a political program. He concludes that the faith survived political disasters; hence, his preoccupation with "emotion" as a corresponding theme with "'power" in an analysis of the imperial idea. (PAUL R. LOCHER)

WEBER, EUGEN. *The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905-1914.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 237. $5.00.)

Few historians today would deny the fact that there was a nationalist revival in France in the years immediately preceding World War I. The author, in the opinion of the reviewer, is thus not attempting to prove this fact so much as he is to show the extent of the revival. In this well written work, Weber distinguishes not simply one revival in the decade which began in 1905 but two. The first revival of nationalism followed the Moroccan crisis of 1905-1906. Then as the immediate danger passed, the French people once again sank into complacency. The second, and more important, revival of the nationalistic spirit in France came with the second Moroccan crisis in 1911. It was exemplified by the rise to power of Poincaré and the passage of the Three-Year Law. "'The story that has been unfolded," the author writes in his conclusion, "is that of nine years seen from one particular point of view. For this purpose I have, as it were, isolated the particular circumstances that interested me and followed them and all events relating to them through the years,"

(p. 145). The work then is not, and was not meant to be, a history of the nine years leading up to the outbreak of the war; it deals only with evidence relating to nationalism. The author has concentrated all of his attention on the Paris basin, as he does not believe the attitudes and opinions of the provinces changed to any great extent; and what little change may have taken place was the result of direct influence from Paris.

The book has an excellent bibliography and bibliographic essay, as well as a most helpful thirteen-page section of biographical notes. However, it should be pointed out that the author presupposes a good knowledge of the Third Republic on the part of his reader and speaks familiarly of men who would be unknown to the reader who does not possess a fairly full knowledge of the era. (JOHN G. GALLAHER)

VAN ZELLER, HUBERT, O.S.B. *The Holy Rule. Notes on Saint Benedict's Legislation for Monks.* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958. Pp. $7.50.)

Despite the fact, that his name is Dutch and his birthplace Egyptian, the author of this work is an English Benedictine monk, possessed of considerable artistic, as well as literary, ability. In this book, only one of the nearly two dozen he has written, most of them on various aspects of asceticism, he adds to the already extensive number of commentaries upon the Rule of Benedict of Nursia. Mind you, Dom Hubert does not *call* his work a commentary on the Rule; he is too modest for that: his preference is for the word "Notes" as evident from his sub-title. But, offended modesty or not, there is no other way to characterize it, unless, in view of the current popularity of such books, one wants to label this work, too, "a spiritual diary." The book is divided into chapters equal in number to those of Benedict's Rule, and all bear the same titles as those of the Rule; but there the similarity ends, for the Rule is not quoted in its entirety nor are the comments the author makes upon it of such nature as to elucidate anything other than certain portions which have caught his fancy. This apart, the remarks made are always interesting and often amusing, even though occasionally acrimonious. His phrases, despite some small preciosity, are singularly well turned. The author evinces a thorough familiarity with the greater commentaries on the Rule, and even with a number of the lesser: as well as a wide knowledge of the fathers and doctors of the Church, but, and it is a "but" of some moment, his announced refusal to follow the rules of scholarship with regard to the use of the sacrosanct scholarly apparatus is exasperating, to say the least.

However, it is just this continued stress upon the ascetical aspect of the Rule rather than its historical or administrative ones, which deters this

reviewer from recommending the book to the student of history, as such, be he tyro or expert, as a work of an historical nature. On the other hand, there is not the slightest hesitation about recommending it, and highly, to the religious or the general reader. (JOHN W. MURPHY)

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Sovietization and Liberalization in Polish Postwar Historiography. Elizabeth K. Valkenier (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, July, 1959).

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Arnade, Charles W. *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602. An Eyewitness Account of Life in Florida Datelined at St. Augustine in 1602.* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 100. $1.00.)

Aubert, R. and E. Van Cauwenbergh (Eds.). *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.* Fascicules 80 and 81: *Dioscore-Downside; Downside-Dumno.* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1959. Pp. 513-768; 769-1024. 2,000 frs.) This work, edited by two professors of the University of Louvain, continues its customary high standards of scholarship in these most recent fascicules. One of the most notable articles is that on Dublin by Canice Mooney, O.F.M., of Killiney which fills more than 100 columns (830-935). Church historians will also appreciate the article of the late P. d'Espezel of Neuilly on Louis-Marie Duchesne (965-984). Three contributions from the United States are those on the Archdiocese of Dubuque by Matthias M. Hoffman; the Diocese of Duluth by John Whitney Evans; and Phillipine-Rose Duchesne by Richard C. Madden of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. One has only to page through these fascicules in order to realize how great a burden has been borne by the principal editor, Canon Aubert. While articles the size of the one on Dublin are, indeed, very useful, it is a pity that subjects of such general interest as Downside Abbey (Benedict Sankey, O.S.B., of Worth Priory) should have received less than two full columns (767-769).

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to give, as the jacket phrases it, "The Asian case against the 'Catholic Church and Protestantism' in their Western form. . . ." The preface has been written by Thomas D. Roberts, S.J., former Archbishop of Bombay.

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